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Proceedings of Tudeh Party 17th Plenum



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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2443

## PROCEEDINGS OF TUDEH PARTY 17TH PLENUM

[This report contains proceedings from the 17th Plenum of the Tudeh Party, held in Tehran, Iran, for the first time since 1949, when the party was banned by the Shah]

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POLITBURO REPORT TO 17TH PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF TUDEH PARTY  
OF IRAN

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 11 Apr 81 pp 3-10

["The Politburo Report to the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran"]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

The Politburo of the Central Committee has commissioned me to report its activities to the Central Committee between the time periods of the 16th and 17th plenums, as well as its proposals for the future work of the Party.

This report consists of two parts. In the first part, the present situation in the country as well as that of the world are briefly analyzed. In the second part, the activities of the leadership of the Party during the period between the two plenums are reported to the comrades.

Based on the guidelines of the 16th Plenum, the Politburo has prepared a new Party plan for the present evolutionary stage of the Iranian society, to be discussed and approved by the Plenum.

Part I

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF IRAN AND THE WORLD

A. THE INTERNAL SITUATION OF IRAN:

The most important characteristic of the present internal political situation is that the Iranian revolution--in the wake of its very significant accomplishments in the destiny-making battle against world imperialism headed by the United States and against domestic counter-revolution--is now going through one of its most difficult stages of stabilization, strengthening and expansion. The united front of the plundering forces of imperialism, world-wide, evil reaction, and domestic counter-revolution, which were shattered by the victory of the Iranian revolution, are by no means willing to accept the stabilization, strengthening and expansion of this revolution as an irreversible change. They have employed all their infernal forces to overthrow this revolution and take Iran and the region back to the era of



unquestionable domination by imperialism. As we know, within the past two years, a number of imperialistic conspiracies of various colors were devised and executed which, one after another, were scandalously defeated by the brave resistance of the Iranian people and the genuine forces of the revolution.

At this very moment, our fight continues with great violence to shatter the sixth conspiracy of imperialism disguised as the imposed war of aggression of the traitor Saddam and his cohorts on our country. In fact, this conspiracy was basically defeated in the early days. Its goal was nothing short of the overthrow of the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its replacement with an imperialist puppet regime, which is to say, the gang of Ashraf, Oveysi, Bakhtiar, and their parasites. This plan was organized with the direct participation of American, British, and French imperialism and their allies, with the cooperation of the most reactionary governments of the region including Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Turkey, Pakistan, Oman, and the Arab Sheykdoms of the Persian Gulf. And the gang of Saddam and counter-revolutionaries in Iran were commissioned to carry it out.

The brave, heroic resistance of the Iranian revolutionary forces defeated this conspiracy in the early days [of its implementation]. But it is sure that even this defeat will not stop the enemies of the Iranian revolution from continuing to conspire for the overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic. At this moment--in addition to the continuing aggression of Iraq whose main goal is apparently to increase the hardships caused by the war and to weaken our newly founded republic against the imperialistic and counter-revolutionary conspiracies--the seventh conspiracy of the domestic counter-revolutionary forces, imperialism, and world-wide reaction, as well as other conspiracies, are in the making.

The main goal of the conspiracy which is already taking place is to turn large masses of the people away from the revolution and sow the seeds of enmity and dissension among the revolutionary forces. Should they succeed, they intend to impose civil war on the Iranian revolution.

The criminal government of Reagan does not hide this objective as it prepares itself to reap the benefits of such a possibility.

Alexander Haig, the U.S. Secretary of State, with the shamelessness characteristic of imperialists, has said:

In the event of a civil war in Iran, the United States will have the opportunity to give emergency aid to the side it favors. The formation of a rapid deployment force and all the preparations around Iran made by the United States are the result of this probable plan. (KEYHAN, 17 Esfand 59 [Mar 81])

But with the spread of the revolutionary movement of our country, especially after the occupation of the U.S. conspiracy center in Tehran, and with the increased recognition of the masses of our people of the real enemies of the revolution, if the active operators of the revolution are able to mobilize all the people's forces to confront this conspiracy, we can be hopeful that this conspiracy will also end in an infamous defeat for the conspirators and their road rollers.

## GAINS OF IRANIAN REVOLUTION

The united front of subversion tries to suggest through its propaganda that the Iranian revolution has failed, has been fruitless, and even it has made the condition of the people worse than it was during the domination of the Pahlavi era with its SAVAK regime. But, hard realities which are still alive and cannot be forgotten prove the opposite of this poisonous and misleading propaganda. In spite of all the pressures and the plots of the imperialists and the domestic counter-revolutionary forces; in spite of the impeding role of the "step-by-step liberal" government which had been penetrated by the agents of imperialism; in spite of the efforts of the monarchists and constitutionalists (the National Front, the Freedom Movement [Nehzat-e Azadi]), and in spite of those political and religious forces and personalities who have tried to confine the revolution within a framework which would safeguard the profit-seeking interests of the large capitalists and landowners, the Iranian revolution has been able:

- to send the hated, oppressive monarchical regime into the trashcan of history;
- to stop the criminal Pahlavi regime and a significant segment of the servants of and dependants on large capitalists and landowners, who were the main source of support for that regime, from plundering the political, economic, and cultural life of Iran;
- to overthrow the rule of the criminal SAVAK and to free thousands of political prisoners;
- to punish a significant portion of the criminals who were captured by the revolutionary forces, despite the efforts of the followers of the "step-by-step" policy to let them escape;
- to return a significant portion of the wealth plundered by these and other escaped criminals which was left in Iran--and this includes nearly 70 percent of the industrial units of the private sector and all the banks--to the hands of the plundered masses;
- to end the plundering and oppressive domination of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, and to open the way for the establishment of a true independence in the political, economic, military, and cultural life of the country;
- to tear to shreds the infamous neo-colonialist agreement between Iran and the United States and release Iran from the imperialist CENTO military agreement in order to join the non-aligned countries;
- to send home tens of thousands of American, British, French, German, and Japanese leeches and spies who had taken over all of the vital arteries of our country, sucking the blood of the people and plundering our national wealth;
- to close down the military bases of American imperialism and to free the Iranian army from the absolute domination of U.S. masters;
- to remove the infamous scar of being the gendarme of the region from the image of our country and transform it to a cradle of revolution and one of the strongholds of the fight against world imperialism and regional reaction;

to blow up through the historical endeavor of the Students Following the Line of the Imam the "headquarters for the subversion of the Iranian revolution," that is, the U.S. spy nest in Tehran; to remove the mask of world-devouring American imperialism and its puppets, mercenaries, compromisers, and submissive elements who had infiltrated into the sensitive positions and the revolutionary government; and to put aside the "step-by-step" government which followed a policy leading to the mutilation of the Iranian revolution;

--to take a first step, in spite of all the disruptions and extensive instigations of counter-revolutionary and submissive elements, in following a foreign policy which well safeguard the interests and independence of the country;

--to sever diplomatic relations with the main, number-one enemy of the Iranian people, the United States and its direct puppets: Israel, Egypt, South Africa, and the monarchical puppet and affiliated governments of Jordan and Maghreb, and on the other hand, to establish strong ties of friendship and cooperation with combatant countries which support the resistance front of Moslem and progressive Arab countries, and to take steps to normalize relations with some of the other countries in the camp of worldwide anti-imperialism;

--to create revolutionary units in order to safeguard and preserve the gains of the revolution, and to carry on a continuous struggle against the counter-revolutionary plots and conspiracies;

--to prepare the constitutional law which, in spite of all its shortcomings, contains many positive points, and to establish a governmental units based on its principles;

--to purge the government offices, the cultural institutions, and the armed forces of a significant percentage of SAVAK agents, the mercenaries of the overthrown regime, and those affiliated with the imperialist espionage organizations;

--to take certain steps in resolving some of the most important and urgent social problems such as putting an end to the plundering domination of feudal and semi-feudal large landowners and to stop the plunder of large merchants by nationalizing the foreign trade and establishing governmental control over domestic distribution.

After all these gains, the claim that the Iranian revolution has failed and has accomplished nothing, is either based on ill will or mere blindness and deafness.

The historical importance of these gains becomes more significant when we consider the difficult conditions under which they have been achieved. The fact is that the truly faithful forces of the revolution have attained these goals by fighting three hostile, opposite and obstructive factors.

These three factors are:

--The efforts exerted by the enemy to end the revolution in failure.

--The efforts of the well-to-do classes and exploiters to hinder the progress of the revolution.



--The negative consequences of mistakes, absolutism, thirst for power, monopolism, and self-centeredness among the ranks of the revolutionary forces, which are the result of the stance and the class-oriented viewpoints of these forces.

The experience of the past two years provides much evidence that each one of these three factors have in turn inflicted painful blows on the stabilization, strengthening and expansion of the revolution. The present complicated, difficult situation is the result of the combined effect of these destructive factors.

1. THE GOAL AND THE OPERATIONAL METHODS OF THE ENEMIES OF THE REVOLUTION. The sworn, irreconcilable enemies of the Iranian revolution are as follows:

The imperialists and world-wide reaction, especially the regional reaction headed by the rabid, aggressive, criminal imperialism of the United States and all the supporters and those who still remain of the overthrown Pahlavi regime, that is, the large capitalists and landowners, usurers and speculators, SAVAK agents, and the local servants of that regime in the army, police, gendarmerie, and government institutions, all the plunderers and autocrats in the cities and villages, some of whom have fled and are involved in conspiracies from abroad, and others who remain in the country and who would not hesitate to commit any crime.

The goal of these enemies of the revolution has been clear from the days when the revolutionary movement of the Iranian people was reaching its peak. In short, their goal has been to bring defeat to this revolution at any price and at any stage possible, thereby returning the country to its former self, as in Indonesia, Chile, and Egypt.

The documents published so far and the events of the past two years support the fact that the enemies of the Iranian revolution, headed by American imperialism, have not even spared one moment in preparing and employing everything at their disposal to bring the Iranian revolution to a decisive defeat.

According to the evaluation of the Tudeh Party of Iran, thus far seven conspiracies of subversion to defeat the Iranian revolution have been planned and executed by imperialists and reactionary forces of the region as follows:

First, the conspiracy of a military coup before 22 Bahman [11 Feb];

Second, the conspiracy to deviate the revolution with the help of the government of the liberals;

Third, the conspiracy to exert pressure through the economic embargo following the occupation of the American spy nest, and in conjunction with this, another effort to deviate the Iranian revolution during the last months of 1358 [1979-80] by taking advantage of the events in Afghanistan;

Fourth, the invasion at Tabas and the accompanying coup plot;

Fifth, the Nozheh coup;

Sixth, Iraq's invasion of Iran;

Seventh, creation of disturbances throughout Iran during the months of Bahman [Jan-Feb] and Esfand [Feb-Mar].

The aim of all these conspiracies, in particular the American-Saddam conspiracy of the military invasion of Iran, has been and is to prevent the stabilization and strengthening of the Islamic Republic, and to weaken the country economically and socially to the point of collapse of the revolutionary regime, all of which has been an attempt to pave the way for the transfer of power into the hands of the counter-revolutionary functionaries.

There is not even the slightest doubt that these efforts will continue more violently and extensively in the future. If American imperialism has not yet, after 20 years, given up the economic embargo of Cuba, as well as all sorts of military intrigues just short of an invasion of that country, and has not given up the idea of overthrowing the revolutionary regime of Cuba, it is clear that as far as Iran is concerned, as Imam Khomeyni has rightly stated, we will be enemies of the United States for the rest of our lives. The economic, political and military strategic importance of our country is so vital to the transgressive domination plans of worldwide imperialism that the victory of our glorious revolution has caused much sleeplessness to the prime enemy of deprived people all over the world. The Iranian revolution, like a devastating earthquake throughout the world and particularly in the Middle and Near East, and the Persian Gulf, has destroyed not only one of the major imperialist bases of plunder and transgression, but it has violently shaken and made vulnerable many of the other bases. With this great effect throughout the world and especially in the region, it is quite understandable that the rage of imperialism and worldwide reaction, headed by American imperialism and directed against the Iranian revolution, cannot be cooled and the Iranian revolution will, in the future as in the past, face continuously and unceasingly its harshest criminal conspiracies.

2. THE OBSTACLES TO THE REVOLUTION Consist, first of all, of the liberal capitalists and the well-to-do classes who enjoyed various material privileges during the reign of the tyrant.

The fact is that these social classes, during the reign of the affiliated regime of Pahlavi, participated within a certain framework in fighting to end despotism and limiting the uncontrolled plundering of the country by imperialist monopolies and the affiliated ruling classes. The reason is quite obvious. The rulers during the tyrannical regime--that is, imperialist monopolies, the Pahlavi family, and the ruling classes consisting of large landowners, capitalists, and corrupt thieves in the government administration, army, police, and SAVAK--so openly plundered our national wealth and the fruits of the labor of tens of millions of the working masses, and the producing force of the society, that there was relatively little left for the profit-seeking accumulators of wealth, and the middle class capitalists. This class had no dispute with the imperialist plundering, affiliated capitalism, or the Aryamehr [Pahlavi] regime. They accepted the shah, as well as the constitutional monarchy and maintaining relations with the imperialist world. These gentlemen only wanted a larger portion of the vast profits.

The efforts of this class and its affiliated organizations and political personalities have continuously, from the beginning of the revolutionary movement, been to prevent the revolution from rooting and spreading and to limit it in such a way as to safeguard the maximum profit for the Iranian capitalist liberals. The obvious stances

of the National Front, the Freedom Movement [Nehzat-e Azadi] and the political organizations affiliated with the liberal bourgeoisie during the heightening of the revolutionary movement, and their disagreement with the decisive, anti-imperialist, anti-plundering orientation of Imam Khomeyni, which was supported by the people, best represents the true political nature of this bourgeois class.

Taking into consideration the characteristics of this class, it is quite clear that they only conditionally supported the revolution. Undoubtedly, if the revolution were victorious and not confined such that the liberals desired, they would use all their forces to slow down the development of the revolution, and if they were able to, they would return it to the limitations they desired.

Because of this particular hypocritical outlook, the 16th plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran in its political analysis concerning its future policy arrived at the conclusion that:

"... Now the question is: How long will the unity displayed by the revolutionary movement of Iran during the overthrow of the regime last, and what will be the position of various classes and factions in the course of future events?

"... What is certain is that the working class along with the toilers of cities and villages will struggle with all their might to attain all the goals of the national democratic revolution and will consistently retain their revolutionary stance to the end . . . .

"Obviously, the liberal capitalism, which has supported the movement thusfar, will be trying to confine the movement within its own limited class interests, and will strive to weaken its humane and popular aspects. The experience of all revolutions has shown that with the expansion of a revolutionary movement in the direction of the needs of the deprived classes of the society, the liberal capitalists have turned away from the revolution and have reconciled with the remainder of counter-revolutionary forces, in order to suppress the popular movement of the toilers. It should be expected that within the revolutionary movement of our fatherland, too, such a phenomenon should develop. Even before the victory of the revolution, voices of discontent could be heard from this class concerning the progressive views of Ayatollah Khomeyni on the economic system of the Islamic Republic, and this discontent is increasing daily. This faction tries to confine the revolution to a referendum for a republic, to have elections for the Consultative Assembly, and to safeguard certain democratic freedoms, but to continue the previous calamitous economic policies of capitalism."

Thus was the evaluation of the Tudeh Party of Iran in the early days of the victory of the revolution. And the experiences of the past two years have revealed the unquestionable accuracy of this evaluation to the largest segments of the deprived masses of our society and particularly to a large segment of the revolutionary forces



who did not agree with our evaluation at that time. Only one example of this development in understanding [our evaluation] will illustrate this great change. Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani, the minister of the interior, in his sermon for the Friday prayer service on 24 Bahman 1359 [13 Feb 81] gave the following evaluation in connection with the role of this class:

Before the revolution, many were with us, but afterwards they separated from us. Many of the merchants, too, changed their ways and having taken advantage of the situation, pocketed large profits. These individuals . . . create discontent among the people and harm the revolution.

The Iranian liberal bourgeoisie, by employing all its political and economic forces during the past two years and particularly during the eight months of the "step-by-step" government which was almost totally controlled by the political representatives of this class, tried to prevent the spread of the revolution and its anti-imperialist and anti-popular stance, which would totally dispel any kind of imperialistic domination over the political, military, economic and cultural affairs of our country and would limit the plunder of the deprived people in the society by the landowners and capitalist classes. The main policy of the liberals consisted of the absolute preservation of the previous capitalist system and extensive land ownership in Iran and the maintenance of a unilateral political, economic, military, and cultural relationship with worldwide imperialism headed by the United States, with certain modifications. And if the previous relationship with the United States was to be temporarily suspended, the relationships with Western Europe and Japan were to be strengthened.

Obviously, this policy is a "minimum" response to the wishes of the United States and its collaborators in Iran, since the United States correctly views this policy as a steam roller for the return to the previous relationship, which is, the establishment of the infernal domination of imperialism over all aspects of our country's social life.

### 3. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MISTAKES, ABSOLUTISM, THIRST FOR POWER, MONOPOLISM, AND SELF-CENTEREDNESS AMONG THE RANKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.

Undoubtedly, these negative, in many instances very negative, consequences, although they cannot all be considered conscious enmity with the revolution, slow down like painful obstacles the expansion of the glorious revolution of our country, and in practice help imperialism and counter-revolution and offer the opportunity to the wounded liberal bourgeoisie to take advantage of the situation for harming the revolution.

These characteristics are not exclusive to one side; they are found both on the "left" and on the right; and their source, both on the "left" and the right, is the petit bourgeoisie.

On the right, these characteristics can be witnessed in aggressive, fascist groups, roughnecks and their operators. The course of action which has created a favorable atmosphere today for the unknown counter-revolutionary and SAVAK elements who are now turning against those who were instrumental in creating them was the result of the monopolization of power aimed at the suppression of any view other than the narrow views of those who initiated it.

The spread of this course of action causes, on the one hand, the narrow-minded elements to restrict the stage for the united front of the true forces of the revolution and to set aside the valuable units who can actively and constructively take part in a common battle to achieve the most major goals of all the deprived classes of the society, and on the other hand, it opens the way for opportunists and hostile elements who can soon disguise themselves through means of trickery and hypocrisy in order to infiltrate the ranks of the monopolizers of power. Historical experience has shown that monopolistic groups soon become the race-course for hostile elements.

On the "left," monopolism, absolutism and self-centeredness can be seen among those leftist groups whose members, similar to the rightist monopolists and sectarians are, on the whole, sincere in their orientation, but because of the same deviant characteristics are, in practice, subject to incorrect orientation, regarding the necessities of the revolution at this historical moment. In this connection, too, riot-creating, destructive actions--i.e. exercising pressure and resorting to violence in order to impose the narrow-minded views of a group on others--have replaced the creative revolutionary approach. We can see that these courses of action, precisely like the deviant suppressive attitude of the rightists, have given rise to the violent deviation of the leftists, meaning, a sort of Maoist "cultural revolution" tendencies, which will end in the barbaric policies of Pol Pots.

Sectarianism among the ruling authorities has caused, on the one hand, mistakes and extremism which have resulted in irreparable damages to the constructive forces of the revolution, and on the other, the loss of valuable possibilities and opportunities in many instances. On the "left," sectarianism and self-centeredness have caused destruction and disunity. Consequently, as a result of their inclinations, the most favorable circumstances have been created for the activities of the enemies of the revolution and the profiteering of conciliatory and submissive liberals.

Attention to these three factors highlights the historical importance and value of the gains of the revolution.

This in itself indicates the great popular power of the revolution which, in spite of all these negative factors, has been able to substantially increase its gains, which include uprooting the imperialist domination, struggling to uproot the traces of despotic monarchy, attempting to limit the opportunity for plunder by the big landowners and capitalists, and securing freedom and better living conditions for the deprived classes of the society.

#### THE RULE AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION

The most important results of the victory of the glorious revolution of Iran were the destruction of the plundering domination of imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism over our country and the overthrow of the regime of the despotic monarchy which was, in fact, nothing more than the crystalization of the rule of the big landowners and capitalists headed by the Pahlavi family, affiliated with worldwide imperialism.

With the overthrow of this regime, the way was paved for the rise to power of an anti-imperialistic and anti-despotic front which included great numbers of workers, peasants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, intellectuals and liberal capitalists. Within this front were various political inclinations from the supporters of Islam to the

followers of scientific socialism. THE MOST DISTINGUISHED RELIGIO-POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PERSONALITY OF OUR SOCIETY IN THE RECENT YEARS, IMAM KHOMEYNI, who has enjoyed the confidence of the vast strata of the masses of people through his continuous, uncompromising struggle against the affiliated, despotic regime of monarchy and imperialist domination headed by U.S. imperialism, was confirmed by the people as the leader of the new revolutionary rule.

With the historical victory of the revolutionary forces over the remnants of the obstinate counter-revolutionary forces on 22 Bahman [11 Feb], a new governmental system, an offspring of the revolution in the form of a transitional government, and the revolutionary institutions, i.e. the Revolutionary Council, the committees, and the revolutionary courts which served as the cradle of the Revolutionary Guards Corps--were established.

The social class of this new rule was, in its early stages, totally anti-imperialistic and anti-dictatorial. For precisely this reason and from the first days of the establishment of the new rule two completely distinct trends were projected within the movement, as follows:

On the one hand, there was the transitional government which was almost totally in the hands of the political representatives of Iran's liberal bourgeoisie, and on the other, there was the popular faction of the ruling body which was trusted and confirmed by the anti-imperialistic, anti-despotic front of the people--that is, forces who, in addition to the overthrow of the dictatorship, demanded an over-all independence and social changes in the interest of the deprived classes. A battle to determine the direction of the revolution started between these two trends and was intensified day after day.

In the first stage, this competition within the relying body was concentrated, for the most part, on the issue of the relationship of the Iranian revolution with world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. The liberal flank, that is, the representative government of the liberal bourgeoisie and those liberals who had occupied their place within the units of the revolution had adopted an attitude comprising reconciliation with U.S. imperialism, the preservation of the capitalist system and big land ownership, compromise with affiliated capitalists and big landowners, an attempt to return the escaped landowners and capitalists, amnesty for arrested criminals, securing "liberal freedoms" for those affiliated with imperialism, taking an adverse and irreconcilable stance against the followers of scientific socialism in Iran and socialist countries, and thereby open enmity with the national liberation movements, especially the resistance front of the Arab peoples against U.S. imperialism and international Zionism.

Opposite this liberal flank was the political trend of the popular flank of the ruling body which, although it was not in any way united and homogeneous, advocated the following policy: irreconcilability with the United States; uprooting of imperialist domination, especially that of U.S. imperialism; punishing of traitors and the main devoted servants of the overthrown regime; confiscation of the wealth of fugitive traitors; and limiting the plunder of crooks for the sake of the deprived classes of the society.

Concerning a policy to deal with the followers of scientific socialism, socialist countries, and liberation movements, there existed and still exists serious discrepancies between these two flanks emanating from their different stances on relations with world imperialism.

The height of the conflict between these two trends came in Aban 1358 [Oct-Nov 1979] when, on the one hand, the liberal flank was preparing to collude with U.S. imperialism to the extent of visiting and consulting with Brzezinski, the operator of all the conspiracies against Iran, and on the other, the forces of the anti-imperialist popular flank of the revolution neutralized the collusion by occupying the main headquarters of counterrevolution and conspiracy, i.e. the U.S. spy nest, and thus dismissed the government of the liberals. From this date on, the ruling body of the Islamic Republic was re-established in a new form, which, for the most part, represents the popular flank of the revolutionary forces.

The dismissal of the government representing liberal capitalism did not mean that the liberals were discharged from all the organizations of the ruling body. On the contrary, for a long time they retained their very important and effective role in the Revolutionary Council, and, until the formation of the new government in Shahrivar 1359 [Aug-Sep 80], they controlled, more or less, all the ministries.

Hence, until the formation of the institutions of the Islamic Republic, that is, the opening of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the appointment of the government and the Supreme Judicial Council, there was a dual ruling body and a liberal policy of compromising with U.S. imperialism dominating the actions of the government and particularly its foreign minister. It is only with the new government that one can say the rule of the popular flank over that of the liberal flank has been established on a relatively strong base.

#### THE MAKEUP OF THE RULING BODY IN THE NEW STAGE

##### 1. From the Standpoint of Its [Social] Class Base

The present elements of the ruling body of the country, on the whole, consist of: legal institutions, including the leadership, the president, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Supreme Judicial Council of State, the cabinet, the Council of the Guardians of the Constitution, the pasdaran [the Revolutionary Guards] and the revolutionary courts, the revolutionary committees, the reconstruction crusade, the Mostaz'afin [underprivileged] Foundation, etc. These institutions are, on the whole, a mixture of the spectrum of representatives of the people as well as the liberal bourgeoisie. But the qualitative difference between the present ruling apparatus and that prior to the establishment of legal institutions lies in the specific gravity of various flanks in the overall makeup of the ruling body. During the reign of the provisional government, the operational period of the Revolutionary Council, and the previous government, the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie weighed heavier in the government apparatus, but this weight has now been significantly reduced. The makeup of the majority in the Consultative Assembly and in the present government shows that the various classes of the people's representatives form a larger percentage of the legitimate ruling body. And the policies adopted by this ruling body in all areas--internal, economic, and also foreign policy--illustrates the fact that the liberal capitalists, who work with all their forces for reconciliation with U.S. imperialism, and who oppose any kind of limitation on the plunder by the big landowners and capitalists, have been weakened and have lost their paralyzing influence to a certain extent.

Within the revolutionary institutions--that is, the revolutionary courts, the revolutionary committees, and the pasdaran [Revolutionary Guards]--the division of power



is, again, beneficial to the representatives and those connected with the popular flank. Of course, this does not mean that those connected with liberal capitalism, big landowners, and even elements affiliated with organized counterrevolution have been totally uprooted and eliminated from these institutions. On the contrary, and unfortunately, the fact which has frequently been pointed out by Imam Khomeyni must be accepted, which is that these counterrevolutionary, reconciliatory elements have penetrated all the institutions, and through hypocrisy, trickery, and pretensions to religious extremism, are operating against every legal wish of the masses and every liberal, progressive idea, by fomenting discontent, chaos, and instability among the people.

It is the duty of all the true forces of revolution to support, with all their energy, the anti-imperialistic, popular and liberal trends of the influential forces of the present ruling body, to expose the supporters of conservatism and backwardness, and save the true forces of the revolution from being irreparably damaged by such trends and inclinations.

## 2. FROM A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

From this point of view, in the present effective policy-making ruling body, that is, the majority of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the government, the Supreme Judicial Council, the revolutionary courts, the committees, and the Revolutionary Guards Corps, there are three distinct trends which can be described as MONOPOLISM, REALISM, and CLEAR-SIGHTEDNESS.

The monopolist flank of the ruling body which can be characterized as sectarian extremism, refusing to recognize the rights of anyone with a different point of view--even the right to defend the country, the right to choose one's profession, and unfortunately not too rarely, the right to live--is still powerful, and by creating an atmosphere of pressure has an impact on all the actions of the ruling body by its damaging stances which result in the weakening of the resistance front vis-a-vis the enemies of the revolution.

A clear instance of the attitude of this flank is seen in the attack of the pressure groups on the activities centers of the Tudeh Party of Iran, a party whose every effort supports the revolution and the Islamic Republic. The inability of the influential authorities of the ruling body to deal with the illegal actions of this group is reflected in the pressures put on our Party for more than eight months now, [during which time] they have refrained from giving back our party headquarters, despite the fact that such pressures are against the Constitutional laws which have been accepted by the ruling body.

But what can be regarded as a hopeful sign is that in the course of dealing with the various difficulties of everyday life, in confronting the conspiracies of the foreign and domestic enemies of the revolution, realism and clear-sightedness in all areas is becoming more wide-spread among the ruling body, in spite of the disruptions of liberal capitalists and the increasing problems resulting from the fundamental changes in the politically, economically, and culturally affiliated regime of the "Aryamehr" [ex-Shah's title] era.

The speed of this growth is still slow, but we can hope that life, the great teacher, will increase speed.

Undoubtedly, the continuous struggle of the great masses of the toilers of our country to stabilize, strengthen, and expand the Iranian revolution--which secures all the economic, political, and cultural rights of these masses--and, as an inseparable part of this struggle, a major effort to break down all the conspiracies of the enemies of Iran's revolution headed by U.S. imperialism, will strengthen the trends of realism and clear-sightedness in the ruling body of Iran.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY BATTLEFIELD

A historic struggle is now being fought on several fronts and with ever-increasing intensity by the genuine, anti-imperialist, popular forces of the revolution. In this connection it must be noted that the composition of the popular forces fighting on all these fronts lacks homogeneity and this has produced complications and confusions so typical of the glorious revolution in our homeland.

There is no doubt that the hardest and most fateful battle is now being waged by genuine anti-imperialist forces against the strategems and multifarious plots of the enemies of the Iranian revolution, who include the imperialists, international reaction and local counterrevolutionaries led by U.S. imperialism. This battle is being fought with unprecedented ferocity in all aspects of social life and in the politico-military, economic and cultural fields, where international imperialism and its supporters in Iran have exerted all their hellish strength in attempts to defer the Iranian revolution and restore past conditions.

There are four fronts participating actively in the revolution: The "subversion front," the "compromise and surrender front," the "resistance front" and the "middle-of-the-road forces."

The subversion front, which operates under the direct leadership of U.S. imperialism, is engaged in the implementation of three simultaneous plans. These have a single aim, although the methods used to realize them differ. The three plans consist first of the overthrow of the present government and its replacement with a middle-of-the-road government similar to the "step-by-step" provisional government, on which will secure and guarantee America's "vital interests" in Iran and the region; second, the plan is to prepare for a counterrevolutionary coup, involving first the exacerbation of the internal situation and the undermining of the stability of the Islamic Republic, thus leading to violent moves on the part of counterrevolutionaries aided by the intervention of counterrevolutionary forces abroad and reactionary regional governments who have sided with the enemies of the Iranian revolution.

According to unimpeachable reports, the governments of Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Pakistan are involved in this plan, in association with counterrevolutionaries led by Ashraf, Oveysi and Bakhtiar, whose headquarters in London, Paris and Washington, the capital cities of the leading imperialist countries, are now the scene of feverish activity.

Third, there is the final plan involving direct intervention by imperialism. American imperialism has created a big military force in the region. In fact there has been no such concentration of forces by imperialism since World War II. At present over 60 American, French and British warships and tens of thousands of



aggressive American troops are carrying out a series of maneuvers very close to Iranian territory in company with large subservient military forces under the command of imperialism, so that if other imperialist plans to overthrow the Islamic Republic of Iran should fail, they can go into action directly.

It would be wrong to suppose that the U.S. has learned a lesson from its bitter experience of aggression in Vietnam, or that because of the presence of the Soviet Union situated to the north of Iran it will not embark on such a dangerous adventure. One of the peculiarities of U.S. foreign policy since World War II has been precisely this sort of adventurism, which is divorced from any "sound political logic."

Time and time again the Tudeh Party of Iran has warned against the pursuit of such adventures by the domineering foreign policy of imperialism, in particular the rabid and aggressive form of American imperialism, and historical events have confirmed the accuracy of these warnings with mathematical precision. One factor which actively encourages the United States to pursue such adventures is undoubtedly the existence of an intensely hostile stance towards the socialist world and the Soviet Union in particular not only by the remnants of the reactionary ruling class, that is, the plunderers, the big landowners and capitalists and "aryamehr" [shah's title] counterrevolutionaries but also by an important section of the present government.

The bitter experience of 28 Mordad [pro-shah coup in 1953] showed that the pursuit of a hostile policy toward forces supporting scientific socialism in Iran and abroad can lead to an imperialist and reactionary coup or at least open the door to a "middle-of-the-road and reasonable" government which, to quote American sources, will guarantee to maintain U.S. interests in the region.

The United States is exploiting the Afghanistan experience, an area where a considerable section of the effective forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran have become embroiled in the subversive plans of American imperialism, yet instead of doing something to neutralize this threatening imperialist plot hatched by the U.S., Pakistan and China, the success of which could greatly threaten the Islamic Republic of Iran directly, it continues to support it in practice.

For this reason the U.S. is spreading deceitful propaganda, blowing up "the communist threat," the "threat of Soviet attack," the "threat of a Tudeh Party coup," so that, just as happened in the weeks before 28 Mordad, the ground might be prepared for its conspiracy.

The identifiable forces of the "subversion front" consist locally of remnants of the supporters of the toppled regime, that is, the big landowners, the subservient, big capitalists, the supporters and lackeys of that regime, including the Savak agents and their ilk, in government organizations and in the armed forces, and the thugs and club-wielders, heroin peddlers, thieves and smugglers who have always worked for Savak. To these forces may be added America's political fifth column operating in the form of the minuscule quasi-fascist, pseudo-leftist, Chinese-American groups, such as "Ranjbar," the "Peykaris," the "Ettehadieh-ye Komunisti," the "Komeleh," the Qasemlu wing of the KDP of Iran and counterrevolutionary groups in Kordestan, Baluchestan and elsewhere. The actions of these groups since their inception have always been directed towards sowing discord among the genuine forces

of the revolution and creating unrest as a prelude to counterrevolutionary activity, a phenomenon which is not confined to the Iranian revolution and Iranian society but is international. A clear, simple definition of this would be "American-left," while its role is exactly that of "American-Islam." If it succeeds in seizing power, it will repeat the criminal policies of the Pol Pot regime and Hafizollah Amin in Cambodia and Afghanistan, in order to create an attitude of despair among the people towards true communism, and if they cannot do this they will hinder the expansion and undermine the solidarity of the revolutionary movement, after which they will thwart and smash the revolution itself.

The role of these criminals was most evident in Chile and Portugal, and they are now making the revolution in our homeland their stamping ground.

#### FORCES OF THE 'COMPROMISE AND SURRENDER FRONT'

The class of liberal capitalists, intellectuals, affluent salary-earners and the elite of the "Aryamehr" society and, politically speaking, all westernized members of our society for whom the country was merely a source of huge incomes to be spent in Paris, London and Washington, have come together to join these forces, whose ultimate aim is not, however, exactly the same as the subversion front. They do not want a revival of the "Aryamehr" regime in all its dimensions. They want to expel the radical and persistently anti-imperialist people's forces from the government and to come to terms with the American-led imperialists and provide guarantees for imperialism's vital interests, namely the preservation in Iran of a capitalist system dependent on the imperialist world, the continuation of Iran's military dependence on the U.S. and the west, the adoption of a local policy openly at war with communism and the Soviet Union, cooperation with other reactionary countries of the region, refusal to cooperate with progressive Arab [and other] countries and to support national liberation movements, particularly that of the Palestinian people. In short, these forces wish to see the imposition of a regime similar to that of Turkey before the military coup, or Greece, Spain or Portugal, that is, a regime which is outwardly democratic but at the same time bound by a thousand links to the imperialist camp. In their readiness for compromise and retreat, these forces will even go as far as to accept a "constitutional monarchy."

Now that most of them have been dismissed from office, their most urgent and pressing aim coincides with the aim of the "subversion front," i.e. counterrevolution and imperialism. Both these fronts are exerting all their efforts in attempts to overthrow the present government and replace it with a "middle-of-the-road, moderate and reasonable" government, advocated by Reagan's gang as the protector of America's vital interests in Iran and the region--we repeat, "the protector of America's vital interests in Iran and in the region--and they hope that with such a government coming to power the closely-knit relations of the past could be renewed.

Organizations which can be identified in this camp consist of the "national front," the groups and minuscule groupings associated with it, the "freedom movement," the president-people coordination office and also smaller groups such as the "Jama" and similar organizations which obey this front while claiming to be independent and to hold views of their own.

The political representatives of the "compromise and surrender front" are not homogeneous but are drawn from a motley spectrum ranging from Amir-Entezam Hazih, Maraghe'i and some other ignominious dependents of imperialism to such liberal personages like engineer Bazargan and other dyed-in-the-wool liberals resembling him, who "sincerely" and "faithfully" defend capitalism, and whose tempers flare at the mere mention of worker, peasant, artisan, toiler, and the rights of these working people, and on this basis they "sincerely" and "faithfully" fall into the trap of the exposed and unexposed Amir-Entezams, and are being controlled by them.

#### RESISTANCE FRONT FORCES

The great army of this front is composed of the vast majority of workers, peasants and the toiling classes of tradesmen, craftsmen and intellectuals, the brave fighters of the anti-imperialist and anti-despotic front, whether in the guards corps, the mobilization organization for the underprivileged, the reconstruction crusade volunteers and the genuine forces supporting the revolution, whether religious or political.

The resistance front forces are drawn from a broad and motley spectrum, but it has one common viewpoint and approach in its actions, which involve ceaseless and irreconcilable struggle towards ending the tyrannical and plundering domination of imperialism and "aryamehr" counterrevolution. This spectrum, which has incurred the severest hatred of the imperialistic and counterrevolution camp, compromisers and defeatists, ranges on the one hand from the most sectarian religious elements to genuine followers of scientific socialism. Between the two extremes, the struggle is being fought by large numbers of religious fighters following the Imam Khomeyni's line and also by other truly popular, anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

The sad truth must be mentioned that lack of experience, narrow-mindedness and monopolism on the part of the sectarian forces has caused the front not to succeed in using all of its forces. This situation, at such a difficult juncture in the Iranian revolution's historic battle against the enemies and the compromisers, has inflicted irreparable harm on the revolution. This narrow-mindedness has enabled enemy elements pretending to be Muslims to place their lackeys inside many of the revolutionary institutions, and once installed in sensitive positions, to sow the seeds of discord.

This is dear to the hearts of the enemies of the Iranian revolution, like the compromisers and the defeatists, and they have launched an extensive campaign which aims to intensify this harmful phenomenon. All enemy radio propaganda, such as that of VOA, the BBC, Radio Israel, and the radios of Cairo, Baghdad, Bakhtiar and Oveysi, as well as newspapers associated with compromising and defeatist liberal groups in Iran, has as its basic policy the enlargement of split within the resistance front forces.

In the fateful battle now underway between the supporters and enemies of the Iranian revolution, the revolutionary forces can, as in the past, rely on unstinting and all-round support from the entire forces of anti-imperialist front all over the world, including the family of socialist states, the revolutionary workers movement in developed capitalist countries, and the genuine national liberation movements, as well as countries where these forces are in control of governmental powers.

Our own revolution has received valuable assistance from unstinting support given hitherto, whether during the period of the historic battle to topple the monarchical regime, the battle for the stabilization and consolidation of the Islamic Republic, or the struggle wages against the multifarious plots by American imperialism and its accomplices, particularly during the economic blockade. And this support will undoubtedly continue in the future in all its dimensions as before.

#### THE 'MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD' FORCES

Alongside the three main camps on the battle arena in our country there are other moderate forces consisting of organizations, groups and social and political figures, who manifest a dual identity: on the one hand, they declare their policy to be contained within a framework of relentless and irreconcilable stances against imperialism, yet in practice they operate alongside compromising and defeatist forces and even, in some instances, with the subversive forces.

The middle-of-the-Road forces which do not, definitely, fit into the above three political camps consist of:

The Mojahedin-e Khalq, the minority group of the Cherkha-ye Feda'i-ye Khalq, and similar leftist minigroups such as the "Rah-e Kargar" [the workers' road] Of course, the stances of these moderate groups lack uniformity and, although they are comparatively close to each other, particularly in the field of political action, serious differences exist between them. These groups have, in the main, adopted stances which are anti-imperialist and against despotism, and support the people's demands, but, in practice, in the accurate assessment of the moment, they are subjected to a serious swing to the left and, as a consequence of the adoption of this leftist stance, which has led them to take measures aimed at weakening and overthrow of the present ruling power, i.e. the majority in the Majlis and the present government, they are in practical terms on the same side as the liberals and those forces which seek the overthrow of the Islamic Republic. The analysis which these forces present of their adopted stance is that apparently the chief danger threatening the fate of the Iranian revolution comes not from imperialism in the first place or from liberal capitalism, as the steamroller for the return [of imperialism]. They argue that by depriving the present ruling power (i.e. the Majlis majority and the government) of the power to govern, the most important stumbling-block in the path of the expansion and promotion of the revolution will have been eliminated, and consequently, ruling power will fall into the hands of the "radical, revolutionary forces" (meaning themselves).

As we know, the experience of many revolutions, and that of Portugal as a recent case, shows quite clearly the painful consequences that can befall a revolution as a result of such fanciful and adventurous assessments. We must add, of course, that heavy responsibility in this regard must fall on extremist, monopolist forces of the right, who have used measures aimed against freedom and intensified strife and disunity among the genuine forces supporting our homeland's popular, anti-imperialist revolution.

Our party continues to hold the view that all this is based on the fact that these forces have swung to the left, and this has resulted in the flights of fancy, visible in their assessments of the realities. So long as these evaluations are



maintained, we shall strive to rescue genuine revolutionary forces, whose rightful place is on the people's united front, from this wayward path.

As we know, within the Feda'i-ye Khalq Guerrillas, who held similar evaluations until recently, a serious development took place towards gaining a scientific understanding of the realities, and the majority of supporters of this organization overcame their past errors. It is our hope that the future developments and experiences of our movement will help other young forces which continue to follow incorrect stances.

In this connection, we must also examine the stances of a group of politician figures, especially those Majlis deputies who, in spite of the fact that as a whole they support Imam Khomeyni's line and that their position is anti-imperialist and popular, nevertheless side in their confrontation with the present government of the Islamic Republic with the liberals in many instances, while on major issues affecting the revolution's fate--in the case of their stance against imperialism and the need for fundamental changes in the interests of the deprived classes of the society--they clearly oppose the liberals.

In our view, responsibility for the emergence of this phenomenon lies chiefly with the monopolist elements in the spectrum of the present government's supporters. The policy of this group, which is in no way prepared to tolerate any sort of opposition to its political and social stances, even for cooperation on a single front, is most effective in "expelling" many individuals who have independent ideas or who make independent judgments.

Without doubt, these monopolist attitudes constitute one of the chief and most dangerous obstacles to the most important and pressing imperatives of the revolution, i.e. the unity of all forces supporting the stabilization, consolidation and expansion of the revolution in adopting anti-imperialist stances.

Flagrant aggression practiced by pressure groups against the democratic rights provided by the constitution has been a major factor in the intensification of this phenomenon.

#### IN THE ARENA FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS

The claim by counterrevolutionary and imperialist propaganda organs and by compromisers and defeatists that there has been no visible change in Iran as regards limitations on freedom, and that one despotism has been overthrown and replaced by another is nothing more than a nasty, unwarranted and demagogic lie. In fact, one of the main achievements of our glorious revolution has been the defeat of the awful nightmare of Savak repression, and official recognition of individual and social freedoms. However, of course it cannot be said that the freedoms gained and secured in our revolutionary society are as reasonable and logical as those which ought to be secured, guaranteed and stabilized following a popular and anti-imperialist revolution.

In the political arena, there are variations in the scope and meaning of freedom as understood by the different elements which make up the vast spectrum of forces participating in our country's revolution. In pursuit of its class stance, each

group wants for itself unrestricted freedom, but seeks to impose and tighten restrictions on other classes in proportion to the extent that it is at odds with them.

Rightist sectarians of the ruling-class front enjoy positions of absolute freedom, unfettered by any constitutional restrictions, and in deed and word as well as in their publications those who call themselves the protectors and guardians of the constitution of the Islamic Republic permit themselves to trample on the individual and social freedoms provided by the constitution, to attack rallies, lectures and offices and burn down shops selling the books of any organization which does not agree totally with their views, to injure people and to enlist the aid of their members in the revolutionary institutions to compile dossiers on them, and to incite ignorant people against them. These groups, which support mob rule, and those who, in the words of the ETTELA'AT editorial (Feb. 1980) viewed their first "brilliant deeds" with an approving eye, provided the best possible facilities for counterrevolution and professional adventurers. They forgot that it is as easy as pie for counterrevolutionaries to buy over a few hundred desperate smugglers and heroin-peddling lackeys, to place them in the ranks of the Hezbollah, and to incite ignorant and fanatical youths.

The supporters of the Islamic Republic have thus provided counterrevolution with the finest weapons available to subversive forces for the purpose of weakening the Islamic Republic in the wake of renewed social unrest and civil war, in order to prepare the ground for a counterrevolutionary coup, and they have enabled the compromisers and defeatists to exploit these events for demagogic purposes, by pretending to be supporters of law and freedom, and to attract a wide section of the people, who naturally and justifiably demand peace and order and the rule of law.

For itself, counterrevolution demands the total freedom of the period of the "step-by-step" government, but seeks to restrict freedom for the most relentlessly anti-imperialist and anti-despotic forces. Counterrevolution is not content with such newspapers as RANJBAR, 'ADALAT and others, but also demands the right of publication for AYANDEGAN, BAMDAD and TEHRAN-E MOSAVVAR, Etc., and it demands freedom for demonstrations of Savak agents, and for the national democratic front, supporters of Nazih, Matin-Daftari and Moqaddam. Maraghe'i, for the Muslim people's republican party and for similar minigroups, while demanding the closure of such relentlessly revolutionary organizations as the Tudeh party of Iran.

Counterrevolution complains loudly of lack of freedom, although it enjoys comparatively wider freedoms [than others]. Under the wing of rightist sectarians, counterrevolutionaries freely mount attacks on opposition demonstrations using stones, clubs and firearms, and set fire to bookshops in the name of the Hezbollah [God's party] they raid and plunder the clubs and headquarters of parties and anti-imperialist groups and, with the protection of liberals and by exploiting rightist club-wielders, they audaciously attack rallies and even centers of the Islamic republican party, the most important political organization, a governmental coalition with the majority of the Islamic consultative assembly.

Counterrevolution demands that this "freedom" for subversive purposes be legalized.



It may thus be seen, that the actions of a section of extremist sectarian forces, in spite of its selflessness and stances on the battlefield aimed at uprooting imperialist domination, and securing, in practice, individual and social freedoms guaranteed by the constitution, resemble those of the revolution's enemies in trampling on those very freedoms which are vital to the strengthening of the Islamic Republic regime.

It is, unfortunately, one of the harmful "characteristics" of the present stage of the Iranian revolution.

The spectrum of compromisers and defeatist forces also demand these freedoms within the same framework. The head of the provisional government, engineer Bazargan, whose policy was a crystalization of the demands of liberal-capitalism in Iran, during the early days of the revolution, when total freedom had been secured for TEHRAN-E MOSAVVAR, AYANDEGAN and the SAVAK agents, frequently invoked the black law of 1310 [1931] passed by Reza Khan against the Iranian Tudeh party, thus recognizing that enactment as lawful.

This is the best example of the freedom of which the liberals boast.

Protected by the total freedom given to counterrevolution, and paralyzing the relentless revolutionary forces and restricting them by using a Reza Khan law, the compromisers are best able to play their historical role, i.e. the role of a steamroller, in order to pave the way for a return to imperialist subservience.

Against these three are ranged the realistic and clear-sighted forces of supporters of the Imam's line and the sound forces and followers of scientific socialism, who are demanding the implementation of all the provisions of the constitution, including the securing and guarantee of freedom for all the forces which seek to stabilize, consolidate and expand our country's glorious revolution. In other words, the uprooting of imperialist domination and the prevention of a return of the plunderers, restraint of the ruling class which supports the [former] satanic regime, i.e. the big landowners and subservient capitalists, the implementation of basic changes in the interests of the deprived members of the society and, in short, to secure the full political, military, economic and cultural independence of our homeland, supported by the immortal power of the deprived masses. In other words, freedom to promote the revolution and not to overthrow it, freedom for social progress not regression, freedom to help along the path to and sacrifice for the sake of revolution, not for sabotage, conspiracy and the imposition of another form of strangulation.

The tens of millions of toiling workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals are the firm supporters of this [kind of] freedom, and they are fighting incessantly for it.

The foregoing is a summarized account of the three main characteristics of the present political scene of our society.

#### THE ARENA OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

The third goal of the glorious revolution of our homeland, for the success of which tens of thousands of the deprived members of the society in the cities and the

dispossessed people of the countryside sacrificed their lives, and hundreds of thousands ruined their health, was to remove the socio-economic system bequeathed by the despotic monarchical regime supported by the big landowners and capitalists, and replace it with a just system in which national assets and the fruits of labor are used to improve living conditions among the slum-dwellers and toilers in urban and rural areas.

In this arena, tens of millions of workers, peasants, artisans, small traders and hard-working intellectuals are ranged on one side, against the big landowners, property tycoons, merchants, capitalists, a large gang of land-hungry plunderers, speculators, brokers, forward purchasers, wholesalers and middlemen, on the other.

In spite of valuable services rendered by institutions inspired by the revolution, such as the crusade for reconstruction, and the seven-man boards responsible for effecting land reforms to benefit the landless peasants and small holders. It is regrettably still true that a considerable section of the political forces which are actively and unceasingly engaged in the fight to secure national independence is not yet convinced of the undeniable and unbreakable link between the road to uprooting imperialist domination and tyrannical plunder and the implementation of fundamental changes in the country's economic system, in the interests of the deprived members of society, and to restrict the depredations of plunderers and profiteers. The enemies of the Iranian revolution and the liberal capitalist forces of compromisers and defeatists, who are the irreconcilable and implacable enemies of this revolutionary policy in Iran, have exerted all their might in efforts to slow down the advance along these lines, and their most important weapons are sabotage in the public sector of the economy, widespread, provocative propaganda and demagogy, with which they oppose those making relentless efforts to effect fundamental changes in the interests of the deprived members of society. They even go as far as to slap the lable of "communist" and "anti-religious" on such measures as sugar rationing in wartime, thus trying to incite the ignorant religious masses against such measures. The unprecedented mobilization of the big landowners, who by supporting the liberal capitalists' arsenals and propaganda organs and also by supporting the section of the clergy associated with large-scale land holdings and capitalism, [in attacks] on land reform, which aims to eliminate the remnants of feudalism in the Iranian rural areas, indicates the extent to which the subversion forces and liberal compromisers, and a section of the clergy associated with colonizers, have joined forces, and have gone into action in a deliberate alliance.

Most regrettably, it must be said that sectarian monopolists and deliberate action on the part of counterrevolutionary elements who, by growing beards and holding prayer-beads, have joined the ranks of the Muslim revolutionary fighters, when many of the genuine fighters are losing their lives on the battlefields, and are infiltrating sensitive governmental posts at an ever-increasing rate, creating conditions enabling them to frustrate the government's positive measures, allowing the liberals to claim that they alone can keep the wheels of the economy and the machinery of government moving.

The foregoing is a summary of the state of the political forces within the country.

## CONCLUSION

In general, the main results of the struggle [achieved] during the first two years of the revolution could be described as follows:

1--Considerable deepening and intensification of the seriousness of the revolution as regards its main policy directions, i.e. in the battle for ending imperialist domination and fundamental changes in the interests of the underprivileged.

2--The growth and legal stabilization of forms of "shovra" [council or soviets administration, in the social and economic life of urban and rural toilers, within a clearly-defined framework in the executive organs of government and the armed forces--although this positive process has met with certain obstacles from the outset, and remains incomplete.

3--The emergence and growth of embryos of political realism among an important section of the genuine forces of the revolution in the fields of:

--Gaining acquaintance with the great hardships confronting the stability, consolidation and expansion process of the revolutions;

--Partial identification of the revolution's true supporters within the society, and its true friends in the international political arena;

--More profound knowledge of imperialism, its diverse conspiracies and its facilities;

--Identification of the half-way friends of the revolution, who include the liberal capitalists and their political representatives.

4--The "legalized" desertion by the compromisers and defeatists, i.e. the liberal capitalists and all their associates, from the revolution, and their tendency to cooperate with the revolution's enemies.

5--An increase in the various hardships which obstruct the revolution's stabilization, consolidation and expansion. These include:

--Hardships arising from visible factors, such as the imperialist economic blockade, socio-economic changes, counter-revolutionary sabotage, and the obstructive role of liberal capitalism, the consequences of the adventurous methods used by left-inclined groups and, finally, the consequences of the imposed imperialist Saddam-American war on our homeland.

--Hardships arising from certain abstract factors, the main one being the present government's ineptitude when faced with the necessity of making quick and decisive resolutions against profiteering by the liberal capitalists and remnants of the "Aryamehr" ruling class, i.e. the big commercial capitalists and landowners, to which this important factor may be added.

--The consequences of monopoly-seeking by extremist forces in the management of the economy, resulting in the removal of an important section of genuine pro-revolution forces from the reconstruction program, thus clearing the field for

sabotage by adventurous elements and counter-revolutionary agents, to sow disunity and strife; and, finally, the consequences of inexperience and egotism among the administrators of the Islamic Republic and the lack of attention to constructive proposals [for the revolution] coming from sympathetic forces.

The harmful results of the actions of forces referred to in this report as "middle-of-the-road" [are obvious]. Regrettably these forces, instead of concentrating their attention on adopting a fundamental policy for the revolution at this time, i.e. the struggle against imperialist conspiracies and plots, rendering valuable service to the people's glorious revolution in our homeland, refraining from sectarianism and left-leaning monopolism, and employing revolutionary confrontation based on creative insight, realism and clear-sightedness to differentiate the revolution's friends from its foes, they provide grist to the mill of the revolution's enemies through the incorrect policies and actions they adopt.

We thus witness the fact today, that the Iranian revolution, having experienced a series of remarkable historic victories, is beset on one side with many hardships, and on the other with an ever-increasing number of plots hatched by [its] enemies, in addition to which it has not succeeded in evolving decisive methods with which to mobilize all the faculties it possesses, in order to smash enemy plots and surmount hardships.

It is obvious that increased hardships will enervate and deplete the revolutionary forces and pave the way for the success of enemy plots.

This is the main cause of concern occupying the minds of all genuine and well-informed forces of the Iranian revolution. This concern becomes more alarming when the present turmoil in Iran is seen in the context of present-day world events, which indicate that the aggressive, imperialist and international reactionary circles led by rabid American imperialism is enlarging the scope of plots, political provocations, and aggressive military interventions for the purpose of crushing national liberation movements. It is a great error to separate what is happening in Iran from events taking shape in the world at large. For this reason, it is necessary to review the international scene, [as well].

#### B. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE WORLD TODAY

Undoubtedly, the determining direction and basis for the changes in the political situation in the world is developing to the advantage of the camp of worldwide anti-imperialism and to the disadvantage of imperialism, to the advantage of the progress of socialism and the disadvantage of monopolistic capitalistic rule, to the advantage of the deprived masses of the developing nations and the disadvantage of neo-colonialism. This historical battle which began with the great October Revolution, the first determining, irreversible victory of working power over capital, during its short historical period of 63 years, has been able to change radically the image of the world, and to provide conditions, with an ever-increasing velocity, for the victory of other deprived masses. A comparison of changes alone in the world during the three decades of '50s, '60s, and '70s after World War II, clearly shows this increasing velocity.



It would be enough to view only the great historical achievements of the past ten years. Even a brief study shows that the struggle of the deprived masses in the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America has not only quantitatively but also qualitatively evolved in the direction of perfection. With the great victory of the people of Viet Nam over the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism, as a result of which for the first time in its two-hundred-year history the snout of this criminal superpower was rubbed into the ground, great changes have begun throughout the world in the interest of the deprived masses. In the period between the defeat of the American aggression in Viet Nam up to this date, we have witnessed that the plunderous domination of neo-colonialism has been eliminated in more than 12 countries of the most important regions of the world. In South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, Benin, Afghanistan, Iran, Nicaragua, and Zimbabwe, the victorious anti-imperialistic, popular revolutions have overthrown the evil, reactionary, dependent regimes of neo-colonialism. In the absolute majority of these countries the persistent revolutionary forces took over the leadership of the revolution and secured the development of their country directed towards socialism. In three European countries, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, fascist regimes were overthrown. These are the most significant victories of the deprived masses achieved in their battle waged against world-devouring imperialism and its dependent reaction.

In the battle between these two world systems, i.e.e socialism and imperialism, the balance of power has shifted significantly to the advantage of socialism because of the great, ever-ongoing economic, cultural, and social developments in Socialist countries, and because of the intensification of various fundamental crises in imperialist countries.

In 1980, which was the last year of the Soviet Union's five-year plan, industrial production in that country went beyond the 20 percent increase in industrial production of the entire world, while its population is less than 6 percent of the population of the world. The superiority of the socialist system becomes more obvious when we take into consideration the fact that industrial production in that country in 1913, that is, the highest level of production before the October Revolution, was only 3 percent of world industrial production. In agricultural production as well, despite the fact that during 3 of the 5-years plan weather conditions have been most unfavorable for agriculture, the average grain production has reached an unprecedented annual amount of 205 million tons. During this plan, the actual average of the per capita income of the Soviet people increased by 17 percent. More than 50 million Soviet people moved into 12 million newly-constructed residential units. At the end of this plan, the number of physicians in the Soviet Union exceeded 1 million. Now, there are 37 doctors for every 10 thousand Soviet people, the highest figure in the world. All these great victories have been achieved even though 20 of the 64 years since the October Revolution were wasted on civil war, foreign military intervention, World War [II], and the reconstruction of what was ruined because of these wars.

This rapid growth and immediate expansion will continue also in the future. For instance, according to the forecast of the five-year plan for 1980-85, the national income of the Soviet Union will increase by 18-20 percent, industries by 26-28 percent, and agriculture by 12-14 percent. The average grain production will reach 238-243 million tons per year, and more than 50 million Soviet people will be housed in 12 million newly-constructed residential units.

Of course, the loudspeakers of world capitalism, who are staring enviously and begrudgingly at these achievements, use every propaganda means available to them throughout the world, including the American-made CIA newspapers in Iran, to distort these obvious facts. Along with these loudspeakers are those unenlightened individuals who are entrapped by these distortions and close their eyes to the truth. In addition to these loudspeakers, there exist also inwardly blind people who fall into the trap of these distortions, or pretend not to see these facts. But in spite of this wretched attempt by world capitalism, and in spite of the regressive efforts of the inwardly blind elements, this is an era of the final collapse of the plunderous system of capitalism and the irreversible victory of socialism throughout the world, and no lie, trickery, conspiracy, crime and vileness of world imperialism and counter-revolution will be able to change this trend of the history.

But, in imperialist countries, the problems which are the outcome of the economic crisis of 1974-75, having not yet been resolved, a new era of crisis has begun. Since the middle of 1979, economic activities in major imperialist countries have been on a decline. In the second half of 1980, in 24 developed capitalist countries social production has decreased by 1 percent. This crisis started in the United States, then spread to England, Canada, and finally to the most stable imperialist country, i.e. the Federal Republic of Germany. In the economy of the United States the forecast is that this year domestic production will decrease by about 3 percent.

At the present time, there are more than 20 million unemployed people in the developed capitalist countries. All indications show that this huge army of the unemployed will grow even larger this year.

On the basis of these great developments on the two great world battlefields, the efforts of the peace-supporting forces have succeeded significantly in quelling disturbances. Thus, this factor which provides the opportunity to aggressive imperialist forces to interfere in the internal affairs of nations was limited to a great extent. We should note one historical fact, that under the conditions of the decade of the 1960s, i.e. the unsuccessful military invasion of Viet Nam by the United States, in spite of the flood of protest from all over the world, the United States was able, for the purpose of suppressing the liberation movement of Viet Nam, to dispatch to that country the largest number of troops in its own history--that is, an army of 600,000 well-equipped soldiers exceeding the number of military forces sent to Europe during World War II--and to drop on Viet Nam three times the amount of bombs used in World War II. After a few years, because of the significant changes which occurred throughout the world, the United States lost its courage to carry out such interference in Iran and Nicaragua, and was unable to confront the revolutions of these countries in its usual manners. This comparison also shows that the change in the proportion of forces in favor of socialism and anti-imperialistic liberation movements, and as a result, the progress of the peacekeeping policy has provided great new potential for the success of the movements of the deprived nations. It is under such favorable historical conditions and with the friendship and cooperation of national liberation forces and the great, undefeated power of socialist countries that small countries, who have recently been able to free themselves from the domination of worldwide imperialism, are able to continue their growth and evolution even under the difficult conditions of economic embargo and the all-out pressure of worldwide imperialism. The revolutionary Cuba of today is still under the economic embargo of imperialist countries after 20 years; heroic Viet Nam and its struggling



neighbors Laos and Cambodia, or the Democratic Republic of Yemen and Ethiopia, which are pressured from all sides and even despite the militarily aggressive interference of imperialistic and affiliated reactionary forces are the clear example of reality in our age. Today, 20 out of 110 developing countries with a population of more than 150 million people have chosen the socialist direction for the evolution of their social future. Although the revolutionary socio-economic and cultural quality of these countries are at various stages of growth, they have all gained and are gaining valuable experience in the major issues regarding means of development and solutions to their social and economic problems.

The historical significance of this change in the proportion of forces in the world becomes more obvious when we consider that these notable and destiny-making changes have taken place under such adverse conditions, while the most populated country in the world, the People's Republic of China, has in the past 10 years dangerously regressed in its stance and has openly betrayed the universal camp of anti-imperialism. In order to suppress the national liberation movements and to encourage the imperialistic military aggression against socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, China has accepted an infamous compromise with the darkest imperialistic forces, i.e. the United States and fascist, racist governments such as Israel, South Africa and Chile. And, in order to prove its irreversible "sincerity" in this treason, China has imposed the greatest political, military, and economic pressure on the Soviet Union to the north, and Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia to the south.

These victories and especially the acceleration of the changes in the last 10 years have been achieved in the bloody struggle of the uprisen masses and progressive forces of the world against worldwide reaction headed by U.S. imperialism.

The imperialists and reactionaries stand against this great current with all their might. They do not even relinquish an inch of what they have taken forcefully, without a fight. Worldwide imperialism and affiliated reaction are trying to retrieve what they have lost by taking advantage of every political, economic and military means and using every criminal, deceitful policy. Or at least they try to prevent the stabilization, strengthening and expansion of the new revolutionary, anti-imperialistic, popular systems, and in this way decrease the ever-increasing speed of changes in the world which are to their detriment.

The important peculiarity of world politics at the present moment is exactly this miserable imperialistic attempt. The criminal imperialism of the United States in the frontlines of worldwide imperialism, i.e. that of Western Europe, Japan, and other reactionary countries, has at the present moment set the following as its most important strategic objectives:

--to end peacekeeping and calm by escalating political disturbances and returning the world to the cold war and the arms race era, and in this way, by forcing heavy military budgets on socialist countries, to slow down the rapid development of those countries as far as possible;

--to obstruct the progress and success of the national liberation movements and, if possible, to cause the victorious movements to fail and to thereby regain their previous position;

--to keep the developing countries within the capitalist system and prevent, with all their might, their inclination to follow a path towards a non-capitalistic development and adoption of a socialist orientation.

--to besiege the foreign and world policy of these countries within the framework of their own world policy, and thus prevent them from approaching and establishing relations and cooperation with socialist states and other liberated, independent countries;

--to prevent these countries from having a free, independent economy, and to keep them dependent on imperialist markets.

In order to achieve these objectives in their infernal plan, the imperialists have employed all their political, economic, military, propaganda, and ideological forces.

Now it is certain that the entire region of the developing countries is an operational arena for these imperialist policies. It would be sufficient to only note the imperialist's actions, especially the role of its world gendarme--U.S. imperialism throughout the world, in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, in South East Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America. Among these, the Persian Gulf is of primary significance, because of its unique strategic importance, both economically and militarily and because of the occurrence of the great revolutionary explosion in that region.

We have now witnessed for two years all the imperialist plots and conspiracies in this region, and we can see how all the visible and invisible hands of black imperialist and reactionary forces are working to defeat the two anti-imperialist, popular revolutions of the region--the Iranian and the Afghan revolutions, or at least they hope to transform these revolutions from within, and drag them to compromise and submission, that is, to that very prison of dependence on world capitalism.

We are now witness to the fact that U.S. imperialism and its associates have concentrated large quantities of military equipment and huge numbers of armed forces in the Persian Gulf area. Through their daily instigations and military maneuvers in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Jordan they disturb the political atmosphere of the region, preparing it for the open invasion of Iran by the United States.

Worldwide imperialism headed by the United States is heavily preparing to crush the Iranian revolution. The coup in Turkey, encouraging Iraq for an open invasion of Iran, the effort to put together a regional military pact between the countries of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman against Iran, the effort to arm Pakistan and the reactionary Arab regimes of the region, strengthening of the military bases and the creation of new bases surrounding Iran, the emergency military aid of \$500 million to Pakistan along with a \$2.5 billion loan from the World Bank to that country, and the open arming of the criminal Afghan gangs in Pakistan which are managed by the deposed Shah of Afghanistan, Bakhtiars and Oveysis of Afghanistan, and under the direct supervision of the CIA, are all preparations for the creation of a reactionary iron ring around Iran.

Diego Garcia is changing into the largest American military base in the world, and the 200,000-man army of the "rapid deployment" force has been ordered to confine its mission only to the Persian Gulf region. England is prepared to put its large

military base in Cyprus at the disposal of this aggressive army. Neogtiations are taking place between the United States and Egypt and the United States and Pakistan for the establishment of two new U.S. military bases in those countries. The above are all but part of the infernal imperialist plan headed by U.S. imperialism directed against the revolutions of Iran and Afghanistan which, according to Brzezinski have disturbed the "balance" of power in the region.

Another part of this plan is the effort of all the organizations affiliated with U.S. imperialism and aided by the compromisers and submissive elements to carry out in Iran the "guidelines" of Brezezinski in clouding the relationship between Iran and the Soviet Union.

At present, more than 60 American, French, and British warships manned with tens of thousands of American soldiers especially trained for battle in the climatic conditions of Iran are prepared for invasion along with the obediently ready-to-act, affiliated armies of Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Oman, Turkey, and Pakistan, showing off and calling out challenges all the time.

In South East Asia, the U.S. imperialism and its associates, i.e. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, with the aid of the Chinese traitors, have surrounded Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, and with their constant aggression on the northern and eastern borders across China and Thailand, they are trying to prevent the newly-liberated masses of these colonial-stricken countries from reconstructing their homelands. The same is true of the criminal actions of the imperialists in Black Africa, in the region of the Arab countries, and in Latin America. We are witnessing the best example of this criminal policy in El Salvador. And we see how ruthlessly the hired butchers of Washington have made freedom fighters for independence of this small nation the target of machine-guns and napalm bombs.

One of the other schemes of the imperialist circles to continue their domination over the developing countries and the deprived masses is to take advantage of every possibility for fomenting regional wars, racial, religious, and tribal conflicts, etc. The historical motto of colonialism, "Set the masses against each other and then rule them," is today used by neo-colonialism on a larger scale. Neo-colonialism knows that the consequence of such quarrels, especially if they develop into destructive wars, will in any event weaken the anti-imperialistic forces and strengthen the position of the dominators. Fratricidal wars between the masses who are tied in the chains of imperialism cannot end but in making these chains heavier.

Imperialism and worldwide reaction are systems which are condemned to die, and like wounded beasts are defending their criminal lives with their very teeth and claws. But the great forces of the deprived people and the working masses throughout the world who were put in motion with the great socialist October Revolution are undefeated. This huge flood, which in a short period of time has destroyed a significant portion of the thousands-of-years-old palaces of the oppressive regimes of the plundering classes, is becoming day after day, more concrete, more united, and more powerful. The masses recognize the enemy much better, calculate more accurately the ways to overpower him and proceed towards their final victory with stronger and faster steps. The people throughout the world are realizing every day that imperialism and wordwide reaction, on the threshold of the historical destruction of its plundering criminal system, is ready for any new crime no matter how unimaginable to the human mind. Not surprisingly, one of those filthy germs and mercenaries of imperialism, who took part in the 18 Tir [9 July] coup attempt, confessed that



the operators of the coup intended to impose their evil system on the Iranian people at any price, and if necessary, even to spill the blood of ten million Iranians.

The people of the world have not forgotten that World War II, which was instigated by bloodthirsty imperialism for the purpose of destroying the first and only socialist country in the world, left 50 million casualties and more than this number of invalids. The people of the world are discovering more and more everyday that the tragedy of the atomic war, being planned by the imperialists, will destroy hundreds of millions of people in the first hour of the war.

It is this increasing realization of the fact which strengthens the camp of the strugglers to secure world peace and the active supporters of the prevention of an atomic war.

The supporters of social change to the advantage of the working masses throughout the world are coming every day to realize more and more the importance of waging struggle for peace, of which the major element is to fight for the prevention of imperialist plots to escalate the disturbances in the political atmosphere of the world and participate in this struggle. The still enslaved masses of the deprived countries are coming to know every day that the best and most proper conditions for their victory in breaking the chains of slavery is the existence of peace in the political atmosphere of the world.

It is a fact that the greatest wave of victory of the national liberation movements in the 1970s was concurrent with the least chaotic post-World War II political period. The less chaotic the political environment of the world, the more the chances for the victory of the people over the plundering pressures of neo-colonialism increase. For exactly this reason, the world-devouring imperialists, especially the imperialistic military-economic monopolies, is greatly horrified by the lack of chaotic atmosphere and the existence of international peace and of the progress of world-wide supporters of peace, who are using all of their infernal energy of propaganda against world peace. The statement of Dulles, the great Satan of the imperialistic, aggressive policies of the United States in the 1950s, concerning the necessity of a "cold war," is the best illustration of this self-explanatory fact. Dulles openly and shamelessly stated:

"In order to force [a] country to carry on its shoulders the heavy burden of maintaining a strong army, it is necessary that we create an atmosphere of excitement similar to that of the psychological wartime situation. It is necessary [for us] to create the supposition that apparently the country is subject to foreign threat."

This statement best represents the imperialistic propaganda fuss which, under the guise of the "communist danger" and "Soviet danger," imposes annually hundreds of billions of dollars in military expenditures on the people of the world. Simultaneously, these imposed heavy expenses which are one of the greatest sources of the plundering monopolies of the military-industrial setups of Western countries, contribute to the dominance of black reaction and the unending dependence of developing countries on imperialistic monopolies.

In the summer of 1979, that is, during the period when the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism began perceptibly to accelerate the intensification of disturbances throughout the world, the U.S. secretary of defense explained this policy with astonishing clarity in one brief sentence. In an interview with U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Mr Brown declared:



"I think that we are being cured of the wounds of the excessive anti-war sentiments inflicted by the Vietnam war."

This clear statement by a professional belligerent aggressor, the same person who was the major operator of the attack at Tabas and the Novzheh coup in our country, as well as hundreds of similar conspiracies throughout the world, indicates how "anti-war sentiments," like a painful wound, were felt and are being felt by the plunderous imperialists.

Precisely for this reason, our people know that the preservation of world peace; efforts to stabilize, strengthen, and expand the gains of the efforts to keep the peace; struggle to strike imperialism and reaction by securing the victory of the national liberation movements which follow the path of freedom, independence, and social progress in the deprived countries; struggle to uproot any political, military, economic, and cultural dependence on imperialism; and ending any manifestation of reaction, all in all, are wounds inflicted on the plundering system of condemned-to-death imperialism, and neo-colonialism, [which is] the final external manifestation [of the former].

But our era is the era of the victorious progress for the universal front of anti-imperialist forces. Our era is one of the ever increasing blooming of the economy and culture in socialist and liberated countries, which have chosen the non-capitalistic or socialist orientation leading towards development. It is an era of more expanded and deeper victory for the national liberation movements, with an obvious goal of ending any domination and aggression of worldwide neo-colonialist imperialism. Our era is an era in which the superiority of worldwide suppressive military power of imperialism has ended, and the dominating adventures of imperialist circles are being most severely punished more than ever in regions such as Vietnam, Black Africa, Iran, and Afghanistan. The era of the parading of plundering colonialists has long passed and with every new day the parading possibilities of these forces are becoming more and more limited.

The praiseworthy heroic struggle for independence, freedom, and social progress in Iran has turned a new brilliant leaf in the glorious history of the battle of the deprived peoples of the world against colonialism, exploitation and backwardness. We, the Tudeh strugglers, are proud to have actively taken part in this historical heroism of the peoples of our country, and have always proceeded on the frontlines of this historical battle.

#### TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS IN WORLD POLITICS

In connection with all these world issues it would be appropriate to pay special attention to two important events of recent times. One is the presidential elections in the United States, and another is the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With these two events, the reality and the nature of two systems and two contradictory encounters on the arena of world politics was presented to the people of the world in a dazzling light.

The presidential elections in the United States, in which the representative of the policy of war, aggression, racial discrimination, and the plunder of the national wealth of billions of people of the "Third World" countries entered the White House with little more than 26 percent of the votes of the American people, was an out-spoken fact, indicating that world inspiration, headed by U.S. imperialism, has faced

backbreaking problems which are the result of various political, economic, social, and cultural crises, and that its only hope is to obstruct the great flood of history which has shaken the foundations of the oppressive, plundering monopolies of capitalism and is destroying a portion of it every day, by escalating international crises, by resorting to the policies of the "cold war" period, by aggressive military actions, by creating regional wars in order to deviate public opinion, by the expansion of the arms race, and by strengthening the reactionary forces throughout the world.

On the other side, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union once again confirmed this reality, with an unshakable strength, that the new socialist system, which is the grave-digger of monopolistic capitalism, is proceeding bloomingly every day with firmer paces, and no crisis threatens it. The society of the socialist countries has become the determining force of the future evolution of our world, a guarding, protective force for universal peace, an obstructive force to imperialist aggression, and a great supportive force for the peoples who have risen for independence, freedom, and social progress.

In the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the economic, social, and cultural development plan was approved for the next 5 and 10 years. This plan shows that in the future too, the growth, expansion, and development of the Soviet socialist society will continue uninterrupted and without any crisis. The superiority of the socialist system over the decadent capitalist system will once again be clearly shown to the peoples of the world.

It is exactly in comparison with the reassuring plan that the stagnant economic system and the social, cultural, and spiritual relations of the declining capitalist societies are clearly seen for what they are. The United States, Western Europe, Japan, and other countries affiliated with worldwide imperialism have nothing to offer for the future of their societies but various crises. Moral and spiritual degeneration in these countries is increasing with a tremendous speed, and is spreading like plague. In the United States, the "leader" of worldwide imperialism, the rate of "inflation" in drugs, burglary, crime, prostitution and the efforts for Mafia domination of government institutions is increasing with a greater speed than economic inflation and unemployment.

In regards to the national liberation movements and the anti-imperialistic resistance in the "Third World" also these two events were the manifestation of two opposing encounters. The U.S. president, immediately after "ascending" the throne of command, used the most obscene insults, called these movements and any type of resistance against imperialism, anywhere in the world, "terrorism" and shamelessly declared war on all of them, including the Iranian and Afghan revolutions, the Palestinian movement, and the uprising in El Salvador. In the meantime, he declared his unsparing support for the Zionists of Israel, the racists of South Africa, the fascists of Chile, and all the reactionary regimes of the world.

But in the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we face quite a different position. In this Congress, the leaders of the Soviet Union once again decisively emphasized their unsparing and all-round support of all the national liberation movements seeking independence, freedom, and social progress.

We also face two quite opposite approaches concerning the vital issue of world-peace and the decrease of crisis. In order to obstruct the tension-easing efforts, the U.S. president is initiating a new "cold war" period, by preparing the most criminal weapon for the collective annihilation of the people of the world. That is, he includes the production of the neutron bomb in his governmental program, and plans to cover Western Europe with a network of deadly atomic missiles.

But, on the opposite side, the leadership of the Soviet Union, in supporting and strengthening tension-easing policies, and the stance of the people of the world opposing the threat of nuclear war, offered such new proposals that they were not even expected by the West. In accordance with these proposals, the non-nuclear region would extend from Western Europe through all of the European section of the Soviet Union up to the borders of Ural.

As regards the Iranian revolution, the position of the U.S. president and the leader of the Soviet Union are significantly expressive of the two opposing world camps. One is the world camp of imperialist aggression and crime headed by U.S. imperialism and the other, the socialist camp, which seeks peace, friendship, and social progress for all the peoples [of the world].

The U.S. president, who called the students following the line of the Imam criminals and murderers, on 19 Jan 81 (29 Dey 1359) evaluates the Islamic Republic of Iran as follows:

"Before everything else it must be made clear whether a government exists in Iran. I personally doubt it. I wish the intellectuals and competent politicians would take over the government in Iran. Then, yes, I think there would exist a legitimate reason for us to establish relations with Iran. . . I doubt that Ayatollah Khomeyni could still be called the man in charge of [that] government. . . ."

Again, in another speech, he states:

"I doubt that a government exists in Iran. Establishing relations with Iran will only be possible when moderate elements take over."

These are the assessments of the Iranian revolution by the actor of Hollywood's "violent" movies!

Opposite this evaluation is the position of the Soviet leader in his report to the 26th Congress. Leonid Brezhnev, in his evaluation of the Iranian revolution, states:

"The Iranian revolution was a very important international event in recent years, which has its own characteristics. The Iranian revolution, despite all its complications and contradictions, is a revolution basically of an anti-imperialistic nature, even though internal and external reaction tries to change the nature of this revolution. The people of Iran follow their own particular way to attain freedom and prosperity. We sincerely wish the Iranian people success, and are prepared to expand our friendly relations with Iran on the principles of equal rights and, naturally through reciprocal efforts."

Apparently the case needs no explanation or interpretation. It shows which power is the irreconcilable sworn enemy, and which gives its unsparing support to the glorious revolution of our fatherland.

## PART II

### THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 16TH AND 17TH PLENUMS

As evaluated in the report of the Executive Board to the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee, the period between the 15th and 16th plenums was one of the most tumultuous in our country. Now, two years have elapsed from that date, and it could be stated that this evaluation is still valid for the last two years in all its dimensions. The fact is that we are going through the most turbulent period of our ancient history. We are witnessing an old system collapsing, as in an earthquake, and the embryo of a new one being created and coming to life. We are witnessing the creation of a system based on national independence, freedom, and social progress, while a battle between the old and the new is being waged in all the arenas of social life.

As a consequence of the victory of our glorious revolution and after 30 years of deprivation and suppression, the Tudeh Party of Iran has once again found the opportunity to begin its free, legal activities. The activities of the new era of the Party began under very difficult circumstances. Today, we can say that given the exceptionally difficult conditions, the struggle of the Tudeh strugglers in this 2 years has in fact been one of the brightest parts of our 40-year history of struggle and the more than 70-year-old history of the struggles of the followers of scientific socialism, and has been a credit to the conscious strugglers of Iran's working class.

The Politbureau used all its power to carry out all the guidelines set by the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee. The following are the brief results of this effort, presented to the plenum for deliberation.

#### 1. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The activities of the new era of our Party started in a very unfavorable atmosphere. This atmosphere was not the creation of the moment. In fact, it was the result of all the factors which had affected the minds of our people during the past 30 years, consisting of the creation of negative, sceptic, unfriendly prejudgments, and even hostile attitude towards the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, towards Marxism-Leninism as a new world outlook, and consequently, towards our Party. This atmosphere was the result of the following factors:

--the misguiding effects of 60 years of poisonous propaganda by the dependent and subservient regime of big landowners and capitalists headed by the corrupt, treacherous Pahlavi family. This regime which considered our popular movement its greatest historical enemy did not hesitate at any time in this long period of time to use any criminal means in its power to slander, suppress, and uproot



this movement, especially during the 25 years after 28 Mordad [19 Aug 53] when it obtained absolute power with the aid of the infernal SAVAK, at a time when its endeavors reached their peak in all areas.

--the misleading effect of the nationalists who were affiliated with national capitalism, that is, the remnants of the National Front who turned their backs on the policies of Mosaddeq, and in order to defend their beloved capitalism, compromised with American imperialism and the regime of the Shah. In order to hide their infamous submissive compromise and by using the free platform that the SAVAK-dominated regime was putting at its disposal, this group tried to cover up its great responsibility in the defeat of the national and anti-imperialist movement of the years 1328-32 [1949-53]. In the meantime, it was trying to exonerate the United States as the major criminal enemy of the independence and freedom of our country by putting all the blame for the defeat of 28 Mordad on the group which, except for its mistakes during the first years of Dr Mosaddeq's activities, was the most active and most effective supporter of Dr Mosaddeq's anti-imperialist stance during the most crucial and sensitive period, between 30 Tir 1331 [21 Jul 52] and 28 Mordad 1332 [19 Aug 53]. For this reason, this group became the target of the most violent political pressures of the subservient regime of the operators of the coup, after the defeat of 28 Mordad. It is enough to mention, that after 28 Mordad, over 4,000 members of the Tudeh Party of Iran were arrested, of whom many were executed and the rest were held in SAVAK prisons anywhere from several to more than 10 years. But the number of those imprisoned and convicted from the National Front did not exceed the number of the fingers on one hand.

--the existence of an extremely belligerent dualism, that is, belligerency against communism from the standpoint of religious prejudice and belligerency against communism from the standpoint of capitalism manifesting itself as the belligerency against communism of the Westernized groups, trained in the United States and Western Europe, and another group simply the belligerency against communism of the well-to-do classes of the middle-class and small capitalists of the Iranian society.

--the influence of Maoism and deviant pseudo-Maoist ideologies in a significant segment of the anti-imperialistic, struggling young generation which has spread an anti-Soviet sickness-like belligerency, and with this outlook, stands against the Tudeh Party of Iran, which has revealed its ties to true international ideologies. The principle-based struggle of our party with the deviant, incorrect ideologies of these groups had reached a level of irreconcilable enmity during the peak of the present revolutionary movement.

--It must be added that the role of the traitors and apostates of the popular movement, whether those who showed weakness during the oppression and yielded to the enemy, or those who fell into the cesspool of Maoism and are today at the head of counterrevolutionary forces, had much influence in creating an unfavorable atmosphere for the Party.

--To all these unjust factors must be added another factor, which is the result of the mistakes of our Party between 1329-31 [1950-52], i.e. at the onset of our

national movement to nationalize the oil industry, as well as the weakness of some of the leaders and responsables of the Party after 28 Mordad [19 Aug 53], and the shortcomings and defeats in the efforts of our Party during the gloomy period of oppression until 1351 [1972-73], including the success of SAVAK in dominating a segment of the secret organization of the Party during that period.

Under such unfavorable conditions our Party began its new era of overt and legal activities. Today there are few who would doubt the significant success of our Party despite these and other new difficulties which have appeared during the past two years.

In this arena of activity, the leadership of the Party has made an effort to devise correct guidelines which correspond with the reality of the revolution of our country and which are firmly based on principles, and at the same time to implement with absolute moderation its program of political action. The 16th Plenum had adopted the main direction of the political activities of the Party as follows:

The first and foremost important duty of our Party in this area (of political activities), is to make an effort in an all-out cooperation with all the true revolutionary forces of our people--the most important of all, with the forces which are under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeyni--to strengthen the young tree of victory which has been achieved with the blood of tens of thousands of heroes, and to make this shoot grow deeper and more fruitful.

We must try with all our energy to make irreversible this great historical success which undoubtedly is of great universal significance. On this path, we must relearn again and again from the contemporary history of the revolutionary movement of Iran, from the Constitutional Revolution up to this date, as well as from the revolutionary movements of other peoples, from those who have already planted the banner of victory in their countries and those who have been unsuccessful.

By fully supporting and accurately following, and scientifically evaluating the reality of the Iranian revolution, the leadership of the Party has concluded that it should support the line of Imam Khomeyni. We have recognized the following five major determining elements of this policy, and the events of the past two years have shown that we have not been mistaken in our judgments. These five elements are:

1. A decisive, unshakable policy aimed at ending the total political, military, economic and cultural worldwide imperialist domination, headed by American imperialism;
2. A decisive policy to uproot the despotic monarchical regime, and destroy the bases of its possible return;

3. A policy to secure individual and social rights and freedoms for the pro-revolutionary forces, who have always been deprived of freedom, that is, the deprived people of cities and villages, the ghetto dwellers and the downtrodden;

4. A policy recognizing the necessity of fundamental changes in the plundering economic and social system, in the interest of those plundered and to the detriment of the plunderers and the thieves of the national wealth and the wages of the urban and rural toilers;

5. Constant reliance on the necessity of the unity of all the genuine forces of the people, to attain the four objectives mentioned above.

The Tudeh Party of Iran had long before the victory of the revolution concluded, that this line of action reflects many of the vital needs of the toilers of our country, and decided to support its success with all its power.

In this manner, the struggle for the progress towards these goals and the struggle to bring about unity of action by supporting the formation of a people's united front was crystallized as the main line of political activity for the Party. On the basis of this orientation, the Party had made an overall effort to create an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation with other true pro-revolution forces who act, for the most part, for the attainment of these objectives, including the forces which are struggling under the banner of Islam as followers of Imam Khomeyni, or other forces whose stance is either revolutionary nationalism or are true supporters of scientific socialism.

Today, we are witness to the fact that in this connection, despite all the difficulties emanating from the unfavorable prejudgments about proceeding towards such goals, despite the plots of the various enemies of the revolution--that is, SAVAK, "Aryamehr" [former regime] counterrevolutionaries, the remnants of the plunderous ruling-classes, and the fifth column of imperialism manifested in the pseudo-leftist U.S. groups (PEYKAR and RANJBAR)--and despite the monopolism and self-centeredness of groups and influential personalities among the ranks of the revolutionary forces, our untiring efforts for unity of action have progressed significantly.

It would be enough to look at our Party's proposed program for a united people's front. We can readily see that many of the objectives of this program have already been achieved or are being achieved, and that some of the others which reflect the needs of tens of millions of the toilers masses have become the slogans and demands of the largest spectrum of the pro-revolutionary forces.

On the basis of this political stance, the Tudeh Party of Iran participated in the referendum to overthrow the decadent monarchical regime and in the establishment of the Islamic Republic. It participated in the elections of the Assembly of Experts and offered clear, distinct proposals for the completion of the compiled draft of the Constitution. And, finally, holding to its critical and reforming views, it endorsed the newly prepared Constitution, which had been compiled by the Assembly of Experts.

Despite the propaganda fuss created and fanned by the opponents and enemies of our Party against this political party-line, today, after the elapse of two years from the revolution, the accuracy and infallibility of this policy has convinced many of those who were condemning us for a long time, and has helped to heighten the political prestige of our Party in Iranian society. One of the most successful parts of the Party's political struggle was the exposure of the compromising and submissive nature of the liberal bourgeoisie, which, under the mask of Islam and a lame, conditional, limited participation in the struggle of the people against "despotism"--and only against despotism--had gained an important position in the leadership of the country after the revolution. Through these positions, the "step-by-step" transitional government, the liberal bourgeoisie tried to divert the revolution from its original goals, and redirect it towards the blind alley of compromise, not only with worldwide imperialism but with the leftovers of the "Aryamehr" regime, i.e. the runaway, plundering capitalists and landowners.

This struggle, as the ratified report of the 16th Plenum of the Party shows, began from the very first days of the revolution. For a long time, our Party was alone in this struggle, but the passage of time, the experiences of the true pro-revolutionary forces in the course of the struggle, the compromising, submissive stance of liberal capitalism, the increasing difficulties emanating from the termite-like economic policies of liberal capitalism in the overall economy of the country, the need to fight to end the access of these compromisers to the positions of ruling and economic power have become the most vital slogan of the entire spectrum of the revolutionary forces.

It was in accordance with this very orientation that the leadership of the Party evaluated the brave action of the students following the line of the Imam from the first moment as a profound revolutionary move in intensifying the fight against U.S. imperialism--the number one enemy of our glorious revolution--and as a struggle against the compromisers and submissive elements, who had even gone so far as to initiate a collusion with Brzezinski, the most vindictive conspirator against the revolution of Iran. The Party supported that action all along, and it continued its support of the students even when they were attacked by the imperialists, counterrevolutionaries, and the compromisers who were ousted from governmental power.

The exposing documents discovered at the American spy nest, i.e. the headquarters for the preparation of a counterrevolutionary coup to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic, have proved the unparalleled accuracy of our Party's views concerning the extent of subversive conspiracies of the imperialists, counterrevolutionaries, and the deceitful role of liberal capitalism in paving the way for the return to imperialist dependency.

For precisely this reason, these disclosures were on the one hand widely supported by the masses of socially deprived and, on the other, openly opposed and countered by anti-popular forces.

Our Party has the right to be proud of its great share in this struggle.



The third part of the very important political activity of the Party has been our continuous, uncompromising struggle against the counterrevolutionary conspiracies and the efforts to equip the struggling forces of the people to confront and crush these conspiracies.

The members and supporters of our Party--with their untiring day and night efforts on this battlefield in which on many occasions they endangered their lives, and in spite of the very limited possibilities and all the difficulties created by monopolistic forces and club-wielders on the right and on the "left"--were able to give valuable assistance to the revolutionary institutions in the discovery and neutralizing of the most dangerous conspiracies of the enemies of the revolution. We have performed and still are performing our revolutionary duty in this connection, and attach importance to its positive results rather than using it for propaganda purposes. We must repeat the fact that some of the political personalities and occasionally political organs, in spite of their complete awareness of our Party's unsparing support of the revolution, by mischievously repeating the accusations of SAVAK agents, and the submissive, Americanized Maoists, try to cast doubt upon the sincerity of our Party in this struggle. But we, the strugglers following scientific socialism, have endured a life of continual accusations and slanders along with more than 130 years of direct experience of struggle on the gallows, under torture, and living in horrible prisons. We know through historical experience that lies, accusations, and slander, even if they have been designed to deceive the public, will finally be notoriously disgraced in the face of history. It is this unshakable confidence that makes tempered steel out of the strugglers for the freedom of the workers' class.

Within the framework of the struggle to expose the variously colored imperialistic and counterrevolutionary conspiracies, we must point out the struggle of our Party to expose the true face of the American "left"--that is, the small Maoist, pseudo-Maoist, and Trotskyist groups. The success of our Party in this regard is undoubtedly significant. Today, "Maoist" in the vocabulary of a large spectrum of the forces true to the revolution is attributed to the U.S. fifth column, and treacherous to the glorious revolution of our country. It is so infamous that the Maoists do not have the courage to admit that they are Maoists. They introduce themselves with grandiloquence and deceptive names.

One of the praiseworthy aspects of the political activities of our Party during recent times is its active participation in the popular resistance against the criminal U.S.-Saddam military aggression against our fatherland. In the early months of the victory of the revolution we exposed and warned against the conspiracy which finally was put into action in Shahrivar 1359 [Aug-Sep 80] as Iraq's military aggression. Most unfortunately, the responsible authorities did not apparently pay the slightest attention to our Party's warnings. Future history will reveal what hands in sensitive positions prevented the attention being paid to these warnings, all of which prepared the background for the early successes of this aggression.

In any case, our Party, with its correct evaluation of this conspiracy and aggression, recognized it as an imperialistic counterrevolutionary conspiracy to overthrow the Islamic Republic, and from the first moment stood beside the other

true fighters of the revolution, on the frontlines of resistance to crush this aggression, by using all its resources for this cause.

This destiny-making battle presently continues. The aggression of Iraq has once more confirmed the evaluation of the Tudeh Party of Iran concerning the true pro-revolutionary forces and exposed the ugly face of the deceptive forces. It is strange, that the political organizations of liberal capitalism, such as the Office of Cooperation of the People with the President, the Freedom Movement, and the National Front, cannot even present the Iranian people with one martyr, while they organize demonstrations against the present government with tens of thousands of people in Tehran and the provinces following the orders of Reagan. The same is true of the ignominious situation of the insignificant ultra-revolutionary American "left," such as "Ranjbaran," "Peykar" and their associates.

The fourth part of the political activities of our Party consists of the constructive efforts to help resolve the difficulties and social problems. Our Party, from the very first day of the renewal of its legal, overt activity has avoided all kinds of "negativism" and by offering clear, constructive proposals in all areas, has contributed its historical share to the revolution.

The proposals of the Tudeh Party of Iran for solving the crucial social problems (such as land reform, saving the country's economy from crisis, unemployment, the nationality problem, particularly the Kurdistan issue, education, the cultural revolution, etc.), like our Party's views on foreign policy and safeguarding social freedoms, are still valid as the most clear and constructive proposals which correspond accurately to the realities of our fatherland, to the contents and major and fundamental orientations of our glorious revolution, and which reflect the requirements of tens of millions of the masses of the cities and villages.

The true value of these constructive proposals will be more clearly revealed when the opponents and the enemies of our popular movement devote hundreds of pages of their publications to insults and slanders directed at our Party, but are unable to logically prove their doubts about the correctness of our Party's proposals, even in one instance.

On the other hand, the events of the past two years have shown that lack of attention on the part of the influential government authorities to these proposals has always been coupled with the escalation of difficulties and complications. We hope that with the experience of the past and with the critical assessment of the errors committed by the administrative authorities of the Islamic Republic, the abstract approaches which are the greatest threat to the stabilization and the strengthening of the revolution, are replaced with realism and clear-sightedness.

These were briefly the efforts of the leadership of the Party in the political field. The Politburo is of the opinion, that these efforts have fully corresponded to the guidelines of the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee, and that the positive results of these actions have confirmed the correctness of those guidelines.

## 2. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN THE FIELD OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFAIRS

The first duty on organizational affairs assigned to the Executive Committee by the 16th Plenum was to rapidly move the leadership of the Party to Iran, since it had for the most part been in a state of emigration. This guideline was carried out immediately after the plenum. Despite the difficulties created by the liberal government for the return of the members of the main leadership of the Party, who were mostly convicted by the criminal courts of the SAVAK-dominated regime, these comrades were able to return home and pursue their political activities within the country.

The main leadership of the Party was completed [as an organ] with some of the comrades who had been struggling within the country during the years of strangulation, and who had become like tempered steel in the dungeons of SAVAK, and were deeply respected and loved not only by the supporters of our Party but also by the ideological opponents of our Party. The combination of these two elements of the experienced activists of the Party created a strong foundation for the unity, solidarity and growth of the prestige of the Party leadership.

The guidelines of the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee concerning the creation of a general united organization, the admission of new members, and attention to the probable dangers of the victory of anti-freedom forces--be extremists or counterrevolutionaries--were all implemented with due consideration given to the existing visible conditions, means and numerous difficulties.

The leadership of the Party has tried always to find and overcome its mistakes and shortcomings in all fields by self-criticism.

## 3. THE PARTY'S ACTIVITIES IN THE AREAS OF DUTIES CONNECTED WITH PROPAGATION, PROPAGANDA, AND TEACHINGS

On the whole, despite the limited human and technical resources available to the Party, and considering the various difficulties created by pressures exerted on our Party to shut down its free and open activities--once in 1358 [1979-80] and once after the attacks of the "club-wielders" on the Party offices in Tehran and other cities in Tir 1359 [Jun-Jul 80], which, unfortunately, still continue--the activities and accomplishments of the Party are worthy of attention. In this period the Tudeh Party of Iran has been able to carry out its significant activities by publishing scientific and political, as well as politico-analytical and expository publications.

From the viewpoint of securing financial resources, as well as distribution of these publications among consumers and among the supporters of the Party, the Party's central organization received much more assistance than expected. This devotedly gracious aid is only a small part of the heroic struggle of the Tudeh fighters in the two-year period since the victory of the revolution.

One of the most significant successes of the Party in this area is the publication of MARDOM and the monthly DONYA. This newspaper and the monthly publication have rightly taken their place at the forefront of today's publications in their

political, cultural, and social contents, in their profound understanding and stance on political lines, in their ideological positions, and in their correct evaluations.

#### 4. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY IN AREAS RELATED TO THE MASSES

In this field, the work of the Party has been and still is confronted with various difficulties, the major decisive portion of which emanates from the peculiarities of the Iranian revolution. These difficulties have existed and still exist as a major hindrance to the organizing of the deprived laboring strata in the arenas of the guild and syndicate activities of workers, farmers, and other toilers, as well as the struggle for women's rights and the rights of the young people and students. In this fight, on the whole, we are confronted with monopolism and the dual organizational struggle of the right and the "left."

On the right we are confronted with the monopolistic religious groups, who are supported by the institutions of governmental authority and who refuse any guild-related cooperation with the other toilers who do not approve of their monopolistic attitude. This causes instability in the voluntary and free unity of all the toilers regardless of their ideological position, religious affinities, etc., and sows the seeds of disunity and dissension among them. On the other side of this monopolism of the right, in areas of popular activities, we are confronted with a policy of dissension adopted by left-inclined elements, such as the MOJAHEDIN-E KHALQ, and ramifications of FEDAI-YE KHALQ organizations, who are following another type of "monopolism," and who would only agree to the unity of a people's organization if they were to control its leadership. And if they happen to be in the minority, they split and try to break apart that organization.

Alongside these two types of monopolism, or more precisely, due to the existence of these two monopolistic trends, the fifth column of the enemy of the revolution, that is, counterrevolutionary elements--SAVAK agents who pretend to be religious or pseudo-leftists, aided by dependent, American-made "leftist" elements--work to escalate disunity and chaos in the industrial units.

Most unfortunately, the toilers of our country, despite having various problems in their struggle to obtain their legitimate demands, and feeling the necessity for their own independent guilds, have been unable, in most cases, to overcome these three artificial obstacles, all of which work against the interests of the socially deprived, i.e. the urban and rural toilers.

The efforts of the Tudeh Party of Iran in affairs related to the masses have aimed, within the framework of its resources and through explanations and expository actions, to assist the Iranian toilers in all social sectors, including the farmers, workers, government and services-related employees, toilers of production and distribution units, young people, women, students, educators, artists, writers and intellectuals, to overcome these problems and to establish their own independent organizations.



In this framework, we must point out the noted efforts of the Party's women in intensifying women's activities to gain women's social rights, as well as the efforts of the Party's youth in the expansion of the activities of the Youth Organization and the Organization of Democratic Students which joined the Youth Organization of the Tudeh of Iran last year, and also the efforts of our Party's activists among the farmers.

#### THANKS TO THE TUDEH STRUGGLERS

One of the brightest characteristics of the Party's activities in the period following the victory of the revolution is the unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm among the Tudeh strugglers on all levels of Party activities, beginning from the supporters and the regular members of the Party up to the higher authorities. In order to spread the Party's views in the society, the Tudeh strugglers have displayed and continue to display unusual selflessness and initiative efforts in financing and collecting aid for the Party and with their very lives in protecting and preserving the gains of the revolution and the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the war fronts. Undoubtedly, this selfless effort of all the members of the Party is one of the major determining factors in all the successes of our Party.

Our Party has never before in its 40-year history enjoyed such ideological and organizational unity and such a sound internal party atmosphere. We must protect, as a precious belonging, these great historical gains of our Party's struggle and increase its quality daily.

The successes of our Party have been more in some and less in some other fields. In this regard, we must consider as one of the negative factors the unprecedented hostile atmosphere that the enemies of the revolution as well as those "friends" who consider our Party to be their rival, are escalating against our Party.

We must hope that the progress in the stabilization, strengthening, and expansion of the revolution, the necessity of confronting the problems emanating from the spread of the historical struggle against counterrevolutionary elements, the necessity of strengthening the unity and the unity of action of all the true pro-revolutionary forces in this struggle, and the growth in the recognition of the realities based on valuable experiences of the revolutionary battle will pave the way for the victory of the toilers over their problems.

Dear Comrades, this was the report on the activities of the Politburo of the Central Committee during the past two years.

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CSO: 4906/243

## RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE TUDEH PARTY 17TH PLENUM

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 13 Apr 81 p 4

[Text] The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran convened in Tehran in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and under conditions of political, ideological and organizational unity and solidarity. The plenum discussed and studied the report of the Politburo concerning the analysis of conditions prevailing in the country and the world, and the party's new program. The plenum finds it necessary, at the close of its work, to set forth the following points as fundamental conclusions:

1. The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran greets the eternal memory of all martyrs, irrespective of their alignment to various institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran or revolutionary events and groups of different political and ideological beliefs, and bows its head in respect, glorification and gratitude for their self-sacrifice. During the revolution, as well as the war against aggression, the heroic people of Iran added a golden page to their ancient record--something which can be considered as unparalleled in our country's history--under the prudent, decisive and unshakeable leadership of Imam Khomeyni. We believe that a people possessing such a spirit of sacrifice and perseverance will be able to withstand the difficulties of completing the revolutionary evolution and renovating the society, and will also be able to carry out its difficult responsibilities. We are rightly proud to belong to such a people and such a country.

2. The plenum once again expresses the Party's support of the just defense against the aggression of the criminal regime of Saddam, and conveys its sympathy and fervent greetings to the families of those martyred, disabled, and made homeless by the war. The plenum sends its greetings to the people of Khuzestan and the Western areas of the country, who have been subjected to savage aggression, destruction and other hardships, and praises the bravery and endurance of our beloved countrymen residing in war-damaged areas. The plenum is grateful to the progressive Iraqi forces who condemn Saddam's aggression. The plenum cherishes the hope that our country will achieve a decisive victory in the just fight against aggression and calls upon all progressive forces in the world and all institutions supporting peace, democracy and the rights of the masses to extend material and moral support to Iran in the war imposed upon it by imperialism and the Saddam regime.

3. As set forth in comprehensive and substantiated manner in the report of the Politburo, the anti-imperialist and popular revolution of our country, which succeeded in the overthrow of the decrepit regime of the despotic monarchy, the establishment of the Islamic Republic and in striking telling blows against the bases of domination of the plundering and tyrannical world-imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, is now going through sensitive and difficult times because of the continuous intrigues of imperialism headed by world-devouring U.S. imperialism and domestic anti-revolution.

The revolution is now engaged in a vital struggle with imperialism and the aggressor Saddam regime on the one hand, and with the variously-colored forces of anti-revolution and/or the forces of compromise with imperialism, on the other, in order to open the way to advance toward strengthening and deepening the revolution. The forces of anti-revolution and compromise are trying to transform the revolution from within through the use of various means and masks. Despite numerous difficulties, the revolution has succeeded, by relying on the people of cities and villages, and by benefitting from the support of all progressive forces of the world, to protect its gains, set up governmental and revolutionary institutions, and to void the intrigues and devilish plans of imperialism and Zionism one after another.

The Tudeh Party of Iran has had an active and effective participation in the great revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people, in supporting the anti-imperialist and popular stand of Imam Khomeyni and the followers of his path, and in facing the forces of anti-revolution and in exposing anti-revolutionary intrigues. The members of the Party, with total sincerity, dedication and perseverance, have not and do not spare anything, on this road, not even their lives. The plenum considers the policy adopted by the Party in supporting the anti-imperialist and popular line of Imam Khomeyni as a stand of principle, and considers as correct the Party's persistent confrontation with imperialism, Zionism and anti-revolution as well as its struggle against liberalism, sectarianism and monopolism. The plenum considers as methodical and correct the Party's attitude based on unity and criticism endowed with our country's revolutionary democracy, which with a revolutionary Islamic viewpoint has played an important role in the revolution and now stands in resistance against the foreign and domestic enemies of our country and of the revolution and requires that the future Politburo use every effort and initiative in continuing this policy. The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran and other party organs under its leadership, have been able, during the revolution and the years which followed--with frankness and initiative yet persistence and firmness--to hold the correct positions in defending the revolution even as imperialism, reaction as well as conservative and compromising forces were subjecting the Party to slanderous assaults, nerve warfare and all-out attacks, and to carry out its difficult responsibilities on the political, organizational and ideological levels. The plenum expresses its reaffirmation and appreciation in this regard and considers essential the continuation of this path and procedure.

4. The plenum studied and approved the draft of the new program of the party. The question of ways of economic, social, political and cultural development of the country after this revolution, and the reconstruction of our society according to the interests of the people in a way that would insure the independence

of the country and the growth, development, well-being and progress of its people, is the central issue for the revolution. The plenum considers that during the period between two plenums our party has made extensive efforts in this regard and has outlined in its new program the most logical ways to progress in various fields. The Party must try to bring about the utmost realization of this program which has been drawn up according to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The plenum assigns the Politburo elected at this meeting the responsibility of completing and publishing the project according to the discussions held at the plenum and to transmit the elaborated views of the Party regarding various aspects of the program to the responsible organs of the Islamic Republic, and, as in the past, to defend democratic freedoms and social justice with full strength, by all means and in a practical manner.

5. World-devouring imperialism is endeavoring, with every devilish intrigues, to convert the Middle East into a dangerous inferno of war and provocation, so that it can protect its plundering positions there. Imperialism, headed by the United States, seeks to eliminate the results of those tension-reducing efforts which the anti-imperialist forces of the world, headed by socialist countries, have forced it to accept. Imperialism and its stooges seek to topple the revolutionary regime of our country. In such circumstances, the sacred duty of leading the thoughts and acts of the Party of the working class toward new successes, the duty of stabilizing, strengthening and deepening the gains of the revolution is facing all of the Party and its leadership. The plenum wishes the Party and its leadership success in this momentous task, and hopes that the Iranian Revolution will achieve final victory. This will be a great event in the history of the captive peoples and a major contribution that our people make to the general evolution of the history of our times. The members of the Tudeh Party of Iran, wherever they may be, must continue as before with the same spirit of self-sacrifice, permanence, logical patience and methodical self-possession to try to be worthy of the fame and traditions of our country's revolutionary movement, as vanguards of the movement, and to strengthen and reinforce the Party's rank and file especially by recruiting as many more workers and toilers as possible.

6. The plenum is deeply grateful to all international revolutionary, labor and progressive parties and organizations throughout the world which have defended and supported our revolution through various means against the incessant intrigues of imperialism and anti-revolution. It is only through such solidarity and joint efforts that the peoples of the world can remove the blood-sucking ogre of imperialism from the road of history and to open the way toward brighter horizons of the liberation of humanity.

7. The plenum fervently sends greetings to the brave fighters of liberation movements of the world, including the freedom-fighters of Palestine, El Salvador and Namibia, and to the noble people of Iraq who are fighting against the Saddam regime, and wishes them success in their rightful and just struggle.

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PROGRAM OF TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN FOR CONSOLIDATION OF REVOLUTION

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 12 Apr 81 pp 3-6

[Text] The life and heroic battle of the Iranian toilers' masses has, within a short period of time, reaffirmed the correctness of the evaluation in the program ratified by the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran [TPI].

This program which offered an overall realistic analysis of the situation of Iran and the world based on a scientific approach of Marxist-Leninist ideology showed that the way to securing the independence, freedom, and the progress of the Iranian society began with the overthrow of the regime of dependent despotic monarchy and the forced plundering rule of the treacherous regime of big landowners and capitalists, which was headed by the corrupt Pahlavi family and was dependent on imperialism.

With the victory of the glorious revolution of our fatherland which was achieved through the sacrifices of tens of millions of workers, farmers, craftsmen, and revolutionary toiling intellectuals, in other words, the deprived section of the society, a large portion of the objectives of the program of the party, which were mentioned as the most urgent goals of the revolution, have been achieved. The regime of dependent despotic monarchy was overthrown; SAVAK was dissolved; a large number of the operators of the detested regime and loyal servants of worldwide imperialism were driven out of the country, and a number of the mercenaries were captured by the revolutionary forces and punished for their crimes and treason; a large portion of the wealth plundered by these mercenaries was retrieved by the people, the Islamic Republic of Iran was established; devastating blows were inflicted on the political, economic military, and cultural dependence of the country and on the plunderous, corrupt, and decayed system of worldwide imperialism; Iran quit the CENTO and this treaty has been thrown into the trashcan; tens of thousands of American and West European advisers were expelled from the country; and an end was put to the enslaving military treaties, purchase of arms and spare parts, and to the U.S. espionage bases.

All of these gains were mentioned point by point in the program of the TPI as the urgent demands of the Iranian revolution. With these changes, the Iranian revolution has moved to a new stage with more extensive duties.

The TPI, the new-level party of the Iranian workers' class, which has chosen the Marxist-Leninist outlook as its guideline for action, is trying to study the issues of the Iranian revolution in the light of this scientific and revolutionary outlook, which is of an anti-imperialistic and popular nature, attempting to work out its program on the basis of this study, and then present it to all the toilers.

The ultimate goal of the TPI is the establishment of socialism and its blooming evolution. In other words, to secure the materialization of a social system in which the principle of ending the exploitation of individual by individual (which has been and is the basis of all plunderous and oppressive regimes from the era of slavery to imperialism, i.e. the final stage of capitalist evolution); to break the chains of subservience and slavery of the toiling masses to the plundering capital, and to create a society of true human freedom--not only for the oppressive classes as in class-societies, but for the tens of millions of deprived masses.

The efforts of the TPI are directed towards the creation of such a humanely superior society, in which all capabilities of its individuals are given equal opportunity for an overall, free growth toward promoting public welfare, culture, and morality.

On the basis of this scientific outlook, the TPI tries all the time to support the actually existing revolutionary movement of the country; in other words, it follows a policy at every stage and at every moment that would help strengthen the people's front against the front of the enemies of the people. The TPI believes that the revolution is the fruit of the actions of the masses, and that as long as the masses are not prepared for revolutionary changes, pseudo-revolutionary exaggerations and resorting to conspiratorial actions under the pretext of revolutionary wrath, no matter how sincere, can result in nothing but the defeat, disappointment, and weakening of the true forces of the revolution.

In the opinion of our party, the issues facing the revolutionary classes and strata of our country today, i.e., the workers, farmers, craftsmen, and hard-working intellectuals, are as follows:

1. To work with all their energy to consolidate, strengthen, and make irreversible the gains of the Iranian revolution; to neutralize through their conscientious struggle the subversive plots of the sworn enemies of the revolution, i.e., worldwide imperialism, worldwide and domestic reaction, headed by U.S. imperialism; and to prevent the submissive compromisers from taking deceitful advantage of weaknesses, shortcomings, mistakes and inefficiencies to deceive the masses, to turn them away from the revolution, and to pave the way for the return of dependence on imperialism.
2. To work towards the fulfillment of all the duties of the national democratic revolution, and to prepare the way for the elevation of the revolution of the level of socialist orientation.

All the efforts of the enemies of the revolution, i.e. the world-devouring imperialism, worldwide reaction, and counterrevolution headed by U.S. imperialism, move in the exact opposite direction of these urgent duties of the revolutionary forces.

The enemies of the Iranian revolution try to make impossible any consolidation and strengthening of the revolution of our fatherland, and in doing so they would not hesitate to resort to any crime. The most important and most practical indirect means the enemies of the Iranian revolution have is to disintegrate the revolutionary forces, to set them against one another, and hence to weaken the front of the revolutionary forces. The Iranian people have now witnessed for more than 2 years this practice of the enemies of the revolution, i.e. the universal and domestic enemies of their fatherland's independence, freedom, and social progress.

#### I. CONSOLIDATING, STRENGTHENING, AND MAKING IRREVERSIBLE THE GAINS OF THE REVOLUTION

The single most certain way to consolidate and strengthen the revolution is to equip the popular forces to preserve and protect it. The revolution achieved victory through the display of the greatest revolutionary self-sacrifice by tens of millions of urban and rural workers of Iran. Through this struggle they hoped that by overthrowing the criminal, plundering regime of "Aryamehr," the loyal servant of worldwide imperialism, the foundations of this system throughout the country (that is, despotic monarchy on a political level and large land ownership and capitalism on an economic level) would also be destroyed and would break apart the centuries-old enslaving chains of dependence on colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has many times pointed out the fact that the Iranian revolution has been a revolution of the ghetto-dwellers and the deprived people, and that the palace-dwellers and the privileged classes and strata of the "Aryamehr" society have had no part in it.

It is only possible to consolidate, strengthen, protect, and preserve the gains of this revolution and neutralize the grudging conspiracies of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution and the plots of the submissive elements and compromisers--that is, the plundering capitalists and landowners who use thousands of tricks to divert the revolution from its course--by equipping these tens of millions of toiling masses. This operation is only possible if we move towards those goals for which tens of thousands of these masses were killed and hundreds of thousands crippled--in other words, fundamental changes needed to put an end to their various political, cultural, and economic deprivations.

Repeating unsupported slogans can only keep the masses in temporary expectation and hope. But the masses will finally turn away from these slogans. They will either continue on their own way or they will fall into the traps of those dangerous demagogues of the public who have won the "slogan"-chanting competition. This is a fact unquestionably proven in all the revolutions of the world with no exception, particularly in those of the past few decades.

Tens of millions of the urban and rural deprived masses (i.e. workers, farmers, craftsmen, and the hard-working intellectuals of our homeland)--the great majority who fought under the banner of Islam and those secular forces who took part in the destiny-making battle--both expected from the revolution:

A. To send the regime of despotic monarchy (which from the onset of colonial domination in the world has consistently been the most important tool for the suppression of nations and for keeping the door open for the unchecked plunder of worldwide or domestic plunderers) to the trashcan of history;

B. To end the domination of world-devouring imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism--which, with the help of the Pahlavi family and its classbase (dependent capitalists and big landowners) controlled all the vital arteries of our nation politically, economically, culturally, and in the armed forces--and to secure the overall independence of our homeland;

C. To overthrow the regime of political strangulation, which was the main tool of the domination by foreign and domestic plunderers, and to secure social freedoms for the [socially] deprived and those who struggle for the deprived in order to enable them to fight to end their deprivation;

D. To begin a revolutionary movement for fundamental changes to end the unbearable deprivation emanating from the dependent, plundering, autocratic, criminal regime--that is, all those political, economic, cultural, national, intellectual, ideological deprivations--and to pave the way for safeguarding social justice, the essential, determining core of which is to end the exploitation of individual by individual.

These are the goals for the attainment of which millions of the toiling masses of our homeland, ghetto-dwellers, the barefooted, and the hungry, have fought in this universal historical battle.

These are the goals, part of which our glorious revolution has achieved, and part of which it must still achieve.

The gains of the revolution in regards to these four principle goals are undoubtedly significant and noteworthy, but, unfortunately, it must be said that they are not alike. While great success has been achieved in the overthrow of the regime of despotic monarchy, in limiting the domination of the plundering, domineering imperialists, and in the eradication of the major operators of the dependent regime, no important step has been taken to secure true freedom for the socially deprived--freedom from economic plundering and exploitation as well as fundamental changes to the advantage of the socially deprived to bridle the remnants of plunderers of the overthrown regime. Capitalists and big landowners still control the most vital arteries of the economic life of the people of our fatherland and like leeches suck the blood of tens of millions of the plundered workers. This situation is the source of the greatest threat to the revolution. Large masses of the people, who have been and are still prepared for all kinds of sacrifices for the victory of the revolution, want the revolutionary government, the government



which they have brought to power by spilling their blood, to take serious steps to prevent this plunder and to secure real freedom for the farmers in order to obtain their rights from the big landowners and for the workers to do the same from the capitalists.

#### THE PEOPLE'S UNITED FRONT--COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

The consolidation and expansion of the gains of the revolution can only be secured by preparing the masses to defend these gains and to obtain their rights from the plunderers. And the mobilization of the masses is only possible with a movement towards the unity and cooperation of all popular forces, regardless of any political or ideological differences, in a united front in which, on the one hand, they stand firmly and with all their power against the political, economic, military and cultural plots, conspiracies and aggressions of the enemies of the revolution, especially those headed by U.S. imperialism, and on the other hand, use all their power to struggle for the elimination of the principal bases of counterrevolution and imperialism, hiding behind the battlefield throughout Iranian society--that is, big land ownership, capitalism, and all the political or pseudoreligious activities affiliated with them.

Such a union can be lasting, stable and effective when it rises from within the ranks of the people and becomes tempered in the course of struggle towards these revolutionary goals.

Establishing the foundations of such a union will only be possible through the overall strengthening of popular general councils, which would include all the people, except the political and economic dependents and loyal servants of counterrevolution, and would be free of any sort of monopolization by one group or another.

In order to begin such a process, the TPI proposes the immediate formation of a council for national understanding to investigate the creation of a union of all the people. This council will include all political groups, parties and political personalities who sincerely accept the common principles of the protection and preservation of the revolution. These are the principles that have been reflected in Imam Khomeyni's political and social guidelines and were confirmed by tens of millions of the socially deprived masses.

With such a council or congress for national understanding, we can establish the foundations for an all-encompassing popular united front, a united front of the true forces of the revolution, or a united front of the people.

#### II. THE EXPANSION AND DEEPENING OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE BLOOMING OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

If the popular revolution of Iran should stop in its evolution and expansion, it would be condemned to destruction and regression. Based on this certainty, it is the duty of all truly supportive forces of this popular revolution to employ all in their power to spread it in all aspects--political, economic, cultural, social, and defense--and to make every effort and self-sacrifice along this path.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is undoubtedly the most important gain of the glorious revolution of our fatherland, a revolution judged by Imam Khomeyni to be the result of the countless self-sacrifices of the ghetto-dwellers, the barefooted, and the urban poor, despite various shortcomings and inefficiencies, it does reflect an important portion of the wishes of the people. Eliminating the shortcomings and inefficiencies, and enforcing the guidances of the Constitution which benefit the people can, on the one hand, block the return of the previous plundering, domineering, dependent regime and, on the other, pave the way for progress towards a popular regime in the country. On the basis of this evaluation, the party, while holding to its critical views, confirmed of this Constitution and employed all in its power to implement it.

The TPI believes in the possibility of the society's movement towards securing social justice, equality, and progress within the framework of this Constitution. It offers the following program for this movement, i.e. to spread the Iranian revolution, and is prepared to cooperate truthfully with all the popular forces of the society regardless of philosophical or social differences to achieve these objectives.

#### A. COMPLETE CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

1. Protecting the territorial integrity of Iran is the most important safeguard for the national unity of all the peoples of our fatherland, who have during the course of many centuries lived together, suffered together, and given their lives together to protect the independence of our common homeland. The TPI condemns any separatism under any name and any pretext, and believes that the Iranian people can obtain their legitimate rights in the best way in all aspects of social life, within the framework of this great national unity.
2. Our progress and social evolution rest in the consolidation of political independence, which was achieved after the revolution, and in expanding the great historical gains into the fields of economy, culture and defense in such a way that all the roads will be closed to the return of neocolonialist domination hiding behind a hypocritical mask of deceit.
3. Eradication of all dependencies, especially economic dependencies left over from the sinister overthrown regime, and freeing our defense forces from absolute dependence for arms on U.S. imperialism and Western Europe are essential to securing national independence.
4. Ensuring Iran's national security and international prestige is basic to the neutralization of all the plots and conspiracies by worldwide imperialism headed by the imperialism of the United States (which will never reconcile itself with the Iranian revolution) against our revolution, national independence and freedom of our fatherland.

## B. STRENGTHENING THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

Imperialism and worldwide reaction--particularly regional reaction which was inflicted a painful blow by the Iranian revolution--will never give up their conspiracies to bring failure to this revolution. The defeated counterrevolution of Iran and the regional reactionary forces, under the command of world imperialism, are always prepared for any criminal conspiracy against the revolution of Iran. Only through increasing the country's defense capabilities and safeguarding its complete internal security could all kinds of conspiracy be blocked.

To defend the revolution, it is necessary for the armed forces to be prepared for defense against any kind of aggression both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quality of the armed forces depends on its unfaltering loyalty on all levels to the goals and objectives of the revolution, and on having at their disposal the modern weapons and the technical ability to use them along with combat readiness. In order to achieve this quality we must:

1. create the basis of a popular and revolutionary army by implementing fundamental changes in the internal system of the army and pave the way to the political growth and social comprehension of the cadres of the armed forces by securing the rights of all its personnel in the political developments of our country;
2. purge the military command and other armed forces of the loyal servants of the overthrown regime;
3. uproot any dependence on imperialism which is the principal, irreconcilable enemy of the Iranian revolution;
4. use every possible means to have a self-sufficient army;
5. provide arms which cannot be produced in the country only when no political or economic conditions are attached, and based on the best, most inexpensive, unconditional bids;
6. strengthen the revolutionary guards corps in all its aspects, including training, arms, equipment, modern light and heavy weapons and organizational improvement as well, so that it can take its proper place in defending the revolution.

## C. INDEPENDENT, ACTIVE FOREIGN POLICY

Safeguarding national independence and security, and proper conditions for the prosperity of the country's economy is impossible without an independent, active foreign policy which would properly respond to the needs of the Iranian revolution. The foreign policy of Iran during the overthrown regime of monarchy was a subjugated dependent on the aggressive policy of worldwide imperialism. This policy must be changed from the roots up, and Iran's foreign policy should be based on the following principles:

1. the establishment of friendly relations with all those countries of the world which officially recognize our country's independence, and are prepared to support the efforts of our people to consolidate this independence;
2. efforts to be exerted by Iran to actively participate in the movement of the nonaligned countries;
3. Iran's support of the principles of peaceful coexistence and defense of peace;
4. Iran's persistent refusal to participate in any kind of aggressive imperialistic military or paramilitary treaty;
5. political efforts to free the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman from any interference by alien forces;
6. opposition to and active political struggle to prevent the conclusion of aggressive military agreements in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman engineered by the imperialists;
7. efforts to sign a collective security treaty in the Middle East, Near East, and throughout Asia;
8. overall support for national liberation movements in colonized countries, especially for the movement of the Palestinian people, to crush the military domination of imperialism in the region of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

#### D. CONSOLIDATION OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREEDOM AND SAFEGUARDING THE SECURITY OF THE SOCIETY

The blooming of the newly-founded Islamic Republic of Iran is only possible with the free, active participation of all the people's forces--the masses of tens of millions of workers, farmers, craftsmen, and hard-working intellectuals--in determining the destiny of the country. Any attempt to force sectarian and narrow-minded views will slow down, even cripple, the progress of the society.

1. It is possible to secure popular rights and freedoms only when all the social, political and guild-related popular and progressive organizations are given the unrestricted, nondiscriminating opportunity for free and equal activity in publicizing and promoting their views, when no room is given to any sort of monopolism, exertion of pressure, imposition of views, or discrimination by any authority or individual, and when every violation of individual or social rights of individuals and organizations by anyone is subjected to legal prosecution.
2. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic--which is one of the great gains of the glorious revolution of our homeland and for this reason has been confirmed by the TPI--has created an appropriate framework for securing and safeguarding these freedoms. But this Constitution is not devoid of certain



deficiencies and shortcomings. In order to eliminate these defects, this Constitution must be amended to secure the political, economic and social rights of the deprived masses and to make impossible any violation of these rights.

3. Within the framework of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic and its amendments, certain freedoms should be secured and any violation of these freedoms must be subject to legal prosecution, including freedom of thought, religion, expression of views [orally] and in writing, the press, social gatherings, parties, trade-unions, residence, travel, choice of profession, workers' right to strike, defense in the courts, and individual immunities.

4. The articles of the Constitution dealing with the formation of councils (the organs to exercise local administration on levels ranging from villages to provinces) must be fully implemented.

5. In addition to the deprivations suffered by others, the women of our homeland--who have had a great share in the victory of the revolution and are now equally as heroic as men in guarding the revolution--most unfortunately, are bearing the brunt of a series of additional social deprivations because they are "feminine." Although women are praised highly in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, in practice these deprivations not only have not been eliminated, but the pressures have increased as a result of the actions of "sectarian" and "regressive" elements. The truth is that the women of our country still form the deprived half of our society. But the blooming of our country depends on securing complete equality with men for women in all the fields of the social life.

#### E. THE NATIONALITY ISSUE

Our country is a multinational one in which different peoples and nationalities with different languages, cultures, customs, and religious beliefs have molded together in the course of a long history to make a single nation. They have given their lives for this country and have contributed a valuable culture to the world. In this single nation, it is necessary to safeguard national unity, protect independence and territorial integrity, and ensure voluntary union without the domination of one nationality over another. To endorse any kind of restriction on, discrimination against, or humiliation of national minorities by majorities of the country is treasonous to national unity and independence. It will provide the opportunity for the enemies of the revolution and our people to sow the seeds of discord and to destroy the unity and interdependence of the people, to pit them against each other, thus weakening the newly founded republic of Iran, and pave the way for the revival of their oppressive domination.

For this reason, the recognition by the revolution of the right to administrative and cultural autonomy (or self-rule) and the elimination of backwardness--resulting from the reactionary policies of the overthrown regime--for all the non-Persian nationalities are some of the fundamental bases of national unity and among the most important safeguards of the country's independence

and territorial integrity. This is the only possible solution to the nationality problem--which is to say, to put an end to one of the most painful deprivations of the plundering capitalist society. The past 100-year history of Iran indicates that deadly silence can be imposed through military suppression for a period of time. But under these circumstances, not even one step forward can be taken towards the unity of the people.

Religious minorities residing in Iran, whose rights have officially been recognized in the Constitution must live in complete security under the protection of the Islamic Republic and must be free to use their own language and expand their own culture and national traditions.

#### F. STRENGTHENING THE COUNCIL SYSTEM AS THE BEST WAY TO SECURE THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN DETERMINING THEIR OWN DESTINY

In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the article concerning the system of government, we read:

"The Constitution is a safeguard to negate any mental or social despotism or economic monopoly, and it will work to break from the despotic system by placing the destiny of the people in their own hands."

The only way to truly implement this principle is to consolidate a system of councils on all levels and in all dimensions. By establishing such a system, masses of tens of millions of toilers will take their destiny into their own hands and will safeguard the security of the society in the best possible way.

Councils in the villages, factories, workshops, schools and offices to participate in management and program planning; executive councils in villages, districts, cities, townships, provinces, and regions inhabited by national minorities; and the Islamic Consultative Assembly as well, are all bases of true democracy for the people and will create the best organization for the people to participate in the management of the affairs of the country.

#### G. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

The economy of our country during the several decades of the domination of imperialism and its Iranian partners--the Phalavi family, big landowners and dependent capitalists--has distinctly evolved towards securing the interests of the privileged minority and maximum plundering of the country by imperialist monopolies and their partners in Iran and has been dependent on the economy of the imperialist world. The consequence of such a treacherous policy is what we are witnessing today.

In terms of natural resources, our country is among the richest in the world. It would be sufficient to point out in this regard that despite the oil resources being plundered by the blood-thirsty imperialist consortium, only in the 5 years prior to the revolution we received more than \$100 billion, a sum which was only a small portion of the value of the plundered oil. This is only a small item of our great national wealth that can be used for economic growth.

In terms of national culture, ability, creativity and perseverance, the people of our country have no shortcomings in comparison with those of other nations. Our country has human resources and natural wealth, large arable lands, great resources for animal husbandry, in short, all the factors necessary for economic growth. But we see that as a result of the forceful domination of plunderous imperialism and its loyal servants, today our homeland is holding its hand out to imperialist markets for even needles, nails, bread, meat, cheese, and thousands of other small and large items.

What we are witnessing today is the result of 60 years of domination by the regime of big landowners and capitalists dependent on worldwide imperialism. The only way to escape this miserable situation is to put an end to the semi-feudalistic economy and dependent capitalism. The history of all those "third world" countries who have followed the ominous path of capitalistic growth and the history of our own country clearly prove the futility and inability of this road to growth in overcoming historical backwardness. The only way to destroy the roots of the misfortunes that dominate our present society is to follow a noncapitalistic path to growth--that is, to found a popular economy aimed at establishing social justice and ending the plundering domination of big landowners and capitalists and their cohorts, on the one hand, and spreading and developing the overall economy of the country to achieve maximum self-sufficiency and social well-being, on the other.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has laid a significant cornerstone for the foundation of such an economic orientation. We must build a popular, progressive economy on this foundation. As a move in this direction, the TPI finds necessary:

#### 1. THE ISSUE OF THE OWNERSHIP OF PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT AND THE WAY TO GROWTH

The most important issue concerning the orientation of the economy of the country is determining the exact way to economic and social growth and to set the standards for the ownership of the means for industrial production, agriculture, land, and residential units. The Constitution has foreseen the three sectors--governmental, cooperative, and private--of the economy of the country and, to a certain extent, the functions of these sectors have been outlined.

The TPI believes that the blooming of the country's economy and securing social justice can only be achieved through the uninterrupted growth of the governmental and cooperative sectors of the economy and through limiting the activities of the private sector in auxiliary areas through moderate and small investments under the complete control of the government. This governmental control must include accumulation and increase of investments and the profit margins of these investments. Any other solution which would not limit the accumulation of capital and profit margins will pave the way for the return of the domination of plundering capitalism. Presently, capitalist trade operations and, to a certain extent, dependent capitalism in real estate and housing have threatened all the people, which has necessitated an overall struggle to uproot this plundering domination and has raised the issue of limiting capital investments in these areas by the largest strata of Iranian society.

The noncapitalist way to growth depends on limiting the field of capitalist activities in the private sector, and controlling the profit margins, on the one hand, and on the other, on the overall economic expansion of the governmental and cooperative sectors in industrial production, production of light industrial and agricultural goods, and the distribution of consumer goods.

## 2. THE OVERALL EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENTAL AND COOPERATIVE SECTORS

The one safeguard for orientation in a popular economy is the overall expansion of the governmental and cooperative sectors in all areas of the economy, i.e. industries, agriculture, and services. Only through the overall expansion of the governmental sector can we bring under control the private sector--which is always trying to expand and revive the plundering capitalist system--and redirect the total economy of the country towards satisfying the demands of the masses of tens of millions of urban and rural toilers, and the overall progress of the country towards complete economic independence.

Only through the expansion of the governmental and the cooperative sectors can the economy be managed according to a program, without which economic independence cannot be achieved.

The expansion of the cooperative sector will secure the opportunity of the large segment of the people, especially the toilers, to participate in determining their own destiny, and will provide them with the opportunity to free themselves both in production and in acquiring their means of living from the plundering claws of big landowners and capitalists. The expansion of the cooperative sector is one of the bases for the economic freedom of the toilers, which in turn is one of the bases of political and social freedom.

## 3. SCIENTIFIC PLANNING FOR THE ECONOMY COMPLEX

In our time, with the extensive growth in forces and resources for production, the increase in the everyday needs of the people, and the expansion of various connections with the outside world, the economy of the country has become a very intricate complex. Under such conditions, the coordination of all the effective constituent factors in this complex have become particularly important. The increase in various crises and the rise in the rate of various incurable diseases in the capitalist societies reaffirm the necessity and the importance of scientific planning to manage the economy of the country. Especially in the course of the future economic evolution of our country, which will begin to undergo a very difficult and complicated period of change, such scientific planning will play a determining role. In our world today, valuable experiences in planning economic programs based on scientific knowledge and specific goals have been achieved, which must be used in planning programs for the economic development of the country.

## 4. IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURAL AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY ECONOMY

To create a sound and popular agricultural and animal husbandry economy in the interest of the peasants, the following steps must be taken:



a. The remnants of the feudalistic economy, which still exist in the form of the owners of large tracts of arable land, must be eliminated. The truth is that even after 2 years since the victory of the revolution, this major support-base of the overthrown regime, which squeezes more than 10 percent of the people in its claws, is still intact. Big landowners have retained their economic and political power in the countryside, and are still the most dangerous base of support for counterrevolution.

On the threshold of the victory of the revolution, more than 50 percent of the country's best arable land, and a larger percentage of water, agricultural equipment, and cattle, were under the control of the big landowners. And most unfortunately, no significant change has occurred as yet. The statistics of the Islamic Republic show that at the present time more than 50 percent of the Iranian rural population consists of landless farmers. Consequently, several millions of Iranian villagers have either no land or very little land for farming.

The latest statistics of the Islamic Republic indicate that of the 164 million hectares of land, only less than 10 million hectares are being cultivated, of which 6.3 hectares are used in dry farming and only 3.7 million hectares in irrigated farming.

The population of the toiling Iranian farmers amounts to 18 million, which is made up of approximately 3.5 million families. Hence, if all the arable lands were divided equally among the families, each five-member family would receive only 1 hectare of irrigated land and 1.7 hectares of dry farming land.

There are about 26 billion square meters of water available for agriculture. This amount can be used to irrigate about 4 million hectares of land.

These statistics show how necessary and urgent it is to find a solution to the land reform issue to satisfy the minimum subsistence of the poverty-stricken toiling villagers, who are the most deprived strata of our society.

These statistics also illustrate that the solution to the problem of increasing the arable land and provision of water through even ordinary scientific and technical means has become one of the most urgent issues of the economic foundations of our country.

The revolutionary decision of the Revolutionary Council concerning land reform, which was taken after the discharge of the bourgeois liberal government, was an important step toward eradicating this counterrevolutionary base. Most unfortunately, reaction, personified in the form of big landowners, capitalists, and a segment of the clergy dependent on them (the royal preachers), has been able to prevent the enforcement of this popular decision which benefits the deprived villagers by resorting to every means, especially taking advantage of the difficulties resulting from the imposed U.S.-Saddam war. The TPI finds necessary and demands the implementation of these reforms as a fundamental step in bringing about radical changes in the economic system of the country.

b. To form and strengthen, on an all-out scale, the farmers' agricultural production cooperatives on a voluntary basis is the second essential step in putting an end to the misery existing in the Iranian villages.

Merely by giving land without helping to bring about the organization and cooperation of the farmers and without financial assistance for obtaining sufficient water, agricultural instruments, seeds, fertilizers, and insecticides, the agricultural economy cannot be saved from the present impasse. It is impossible to raise agricultural production without the use of scientific and technical methods (i.e. without employing agricultural machines, chemical fertilizers, insecticides, and new advanced agricultural methods). And within the framework of small, single-family agricultural units the use of such methods is also impossible. Only by forming production and various other cooperatives (such as credit, sales, and consumer cooperatives) to support the toiling farmers, and by providing them with the necessary agricultural insurances can we approach the goals of the revolution in agricultural areas.

c. Buying the surpluses of agricultural production from the farmers and from the agricultural production cooperatives by the government, and eliminating speculators, middle-men, "wholesale merchants," and those who work for them.

d. Basing the price of the purchase of agricultural products on precise economic assessment, such as weather and production conditions, in such a way that unfavorable atmospheric conditions for agriculture would not disastrously pressure the weak rural and the cooperative economy.

e. Using financial resources to employ the latest scientific and technical findings to provide new water resources and prevent the waste of available water. Using subterranean water resources and desalinating salt-water for use in cultivating certain agricultural products. This is another vital step for the agricultural development of our country.

f. The creation of centers for agricultural machinery, repair shops--in general, moving towards the mechanization of all segments of agricultural production in order to effectively help rural economy--conservation in the work force, raising agricultural yields, and, in later stages, helping the cooperative economy are of vital importance in achieving self-sufficiency.

g. The TPI believes that simultaneously with the full-scale strengthening of agricultural cooperatives in all areas (production, provision of raw materials, sale of surpluses), to a degree embracing the major part of rural economy, special attention must be paid to the governmental segment of the agricultural economy, both in farming and animal husbandry. The maintenance and development of large agricultural and industrial units, like Dasht-e Moghan, the lands in the vicinity of the Dez Dam and the establishment of similar units in other parts of the country should be of high priority in the government program.

h. One of the country's greatest shortcomings is in the domestic production of meat, chicken, fish, dairy products, eggs, etc. In order to overcome

these shortcomings and to prevent the loss of large sums of our oil revenues spent on these items while importing from other countries, the three fundamental segments of raising and keeping domestic animals--traditional natural (tribal), single farm family, and industrial breeding--must, through precise planning, be strengthened and developed in cooperatives and large governmental units. Only through developing the raising of animals can we achieve self-sufficiency in all these areas.

i. The tribes of the country make up a mass population of several million, who play an undeniable role in the country's animal husbandry and agricultural resources. It is an important revolutionary duty to study and identify their particular problems and find clear solutions while taking into account all their particular economic cultural, traditional, and political concerns. We must provide this nearly 6 million people with the fruits of civilization, development, and scientific and technological findings. But even before that, they should be provided with the most primary living conditions worthy of the revolutionary era. Without haste and simple-mindedness, we must prepare the ground for the continual growth of tribal production and for overcoming backwardness; we must value the role of the tribes in providing the country with many of its economic needs and we must improve this role both qualitatively and quantitatively.

j. Our forests are a great and valuable source of wealth. If they are cared for and preserved, they will provide us with unending useful benefits. We must do our utmost to preserve and develop the forests, transform forestry into an active and effective institution in our national economy, prevent any uncontrolled plunder of the forests and the cutting of trees, and devise a detailed scientific program for responsible use of the forests as a self-perpetuating resource.

k. The creation of a basic change in the agricultural loan and credit system is another important and necessary step. In other words, at present, loans are to be given collectively (to cooperatives or village councils), on the spot, under supervision, at proper times and in sufficient amounts to be effective in production. The agricultural cooperative bank can plan an important, effective role in revitalizing our agriculture, in improving the living and working conditions of the farmers, and in strengthening the real units of rural cooperative institutions in the villages.

l. Rural construction, renovation of the villages, and building rural roads are among the issues which have a direct and immediate impact on the revitalization of our economy. The existing situation is so tragic and the standards so low that without a change at least in housing conditions, improvement of the villages--putting an end to the horrible educational and health conditions--as well as a minimum improvement in the living environment and the creation of secondary roads, there is no hope for serious, fundamental change in the agricultural economy. To achieve these objectives urgently, cooperation and coordination between the revolutionary institutions and corresponding governmental establishments following a definite program and time table will be required.

m. The creation of an agricultural planning system on short-, medium- and long-term bases in various fields with regards to the priorities and the requirements of the revitalization and growth of a healthy, independent agricultural economy with regards to variety in production and with regards to the roles and the share of the three sectors--governmental, cooperative, and private--must certainly be put into action in order to achieve the planned goals of the revolution.

## 5. INDUSTRY AND MINES

The process of industrializing the country during the domination of the dependent monarchy was only carried out with adopting a direction to secure the maximum profit for the capitalist monopolies of the imperialist countries and the dependent plundering capitalist class of Iran, and it is sick from top to bottom. Such was the objective of uncontrolled expansion of assembly industries, which make up the major part of the country's industry. Today, when our country is trying to break the chains of economic dependence, we feel the painful consequences down to our very bones.

The only way to secure the economic independence of our homeland (which is the basis for securing independence in other fields) begins with the overall development of heavy industry and making the most of the natural wealth and resources of the country. The significance of this approach is exemplified in the most positive role of the only important industrial units created in the country, such as the steel-mill industrial complex at Esfahan, the machine-tools factories of Arak and Tabriz, and the tractor factory, all of which were built with the technical and economic cooperation of socialist countries, and some of which were mutilated as a result of neocolonialist policies.

On the basis of the above, the TPI believes that the process of industrialization of the country must begin with giving priority to heavy industries, all of which will be concentrated in the governmental sector based on a precise scientific program. Any deviation from this only orientation directed toward economic development will endanger the economic independence of the country, and will pave the way for the return of dependence on the imperialist world.

With even limited oil and natural gas exports, our country has the necessary capital for creating heavy industries while simultaneously taking care of the people's daily living needs. We are able to build the basic structure of the Iranian economy by employing all the resources in the world which are favorable and appropriate to the Iranian revolution, especially the favorable possibilities that socialist countries and other countries, which are free from imperialist domination, can provide for the Iranian revolution.

The national wealth of our country enables us to develop light industries along with heavy industries--particularly metallurgy, petrochemistry, and machine-tools manufacturing--and to expand light industries, i.e. by manufacturing consumer goods, and to rapidly move towards self-sufficiency.



Regarding the expansion of economic activities utilizing the natural wealth, especially oil, natural gas, and other mineral deposits, the TPI believes that this wealth belongs to the future generations of our homeland as well, and that the value of these materials will increase every day. Mines must only be exploited to fulfill our needs for investment in heavy industries and attaining self-sufficiency. Any use of these resources to make unnecessary luxury items is an act of treachery to the future generations of our people. Maximum conservation in this area is a great national duty.

## 6. FOREIGN TRADE

Worldwide experiences and the experiences of the past 60 years in our country confirm the fact that foreign trade is one of the major channels of the domination of imperialist monopolies over the country's economy, one of the channels that enables the joint plunder of foreign and domestic plunderers and the unobstructed drain of the most significant part of the national wealth and the fruit of the labor of workers.

On the basis of precisely this understanding, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic considers the nationalization of foreign trade as one of the important economic principles.

The complete enforcement of this principle of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic is one of the most important demands of the Iranian people in securing economic independence.

The TPI believes that this principle must be enforced in the shortest possible time and in all its dimensions. The TPI is of the opinion that with nationalized foreign trade, all economic transactions with the outside world must be based on the following:

- a. For imports: quality of merchandise and a reasonable price, with no political ties or conditions whatsoever.
- b. For exports: a reasonable price, accepting no imposed ties or conditions whatsoever.

## 7. DOMESTIC TRADE AND DISTRIBUTION OF GOODS

Domestic trade and the distribution of general consumer goods are of utmost importance to the economy of the country and are determining factors in the economic complex. Before the revolution, this segment was almost totally monopolized by capitalists and petit bourgeois merchants. It was controlled by big capitalists who were dependent on the regime of absolute monarchy and on imperialism, and enabled the unrestricted plunder of the fruits of the labor of tens of millions of urban and rural toilers. And since the revolution, except for some very limited steps (such as the distribution of sugar), not only has no significant change occurred in this situation and no effective action been taken to limit unnecessary imports, but lack of control of and restriction on big merchants--that is, the operators of the bazaars, dealers, and middle-men--robbing the people through raising the prices of everyday

consumer goods has taken on dangerous and threatening proportions. Most unfortunately, the government of the Islamic Republic has thus far only given advice and preached, thinking that in this way they can change the nature of these leech-like thieves. Obviously, this method only serves to make the uninformed people hopeful for a short time, and to pacify them.

The fact is, taking advantage of the economy by the capitalists whose existence is threatened, not only invites plunder but is used as a political lever to spread discontent among the people and to turn them away from the revolution.

The victory of the popular revolution in this battlefield is possible only when:

1. the provisions apparatus--that is, the purchase of major manufactured goods from factories, workshops, and small manufacturers--is taken away from big capitalists and transferred to the governmental sector and large cooperatives;
2. all middle-men, both in the areas of provisions and distribution, are eliminated and the centers for the wholesale of provisions are connected directly with the lower ring of distribution, that is, with retailers, distribution cooperatives, and the network of government stores;
3. the creation, parallel to the small distribution network, of an extensive and all-encompassing governmental cooperative distribution network, which is the sole factor in the stabilization of prices and fighting inflation and speculators.

#### 8. SERVICES

As we are witness, services, with their many branches are expanding daily in our ever-growing society and are already an important factor in the economy, which affects the daily lives of the largest strata of the society. Until now, this sector has grown within the framework of the unbridled, uncontrolled developed economy and has gradually become an uncontrollable part of the economy.

Public well-being demands that in this sector just regulations and proportions between the services performed and wages received be established to secure the needs of the people. The only possible way to achieve these goals is to create a governmental network of services to stabilize and set wages and an all-encompassing cooperative for this sector. At the same time, these cooperatives will help to effectively provide the provisions needed by the services sector.

#### H. SOCIAL REFORMS

##### 1. JUST DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME

The just distribution of national income which has been anticipated in the Constitution is one of the most important duties of the people's revolutionary government.

The rule of the monarchical regime of the big landowners and dependent capitalists was based on the plunder of the national wealth and the deadly subjugation of the tens of millions of toiling masses by the ruling class. The ultimate victory of the revolution depends on the overthrow and uprooting of this plundering system and the establishment of a just system for the distribution of the national income in its place. Achieving this lofty goal can only be possible when:

a reasonable balance is established in accordance with the conditions and resources and taking into consideration scientific standards and calculations--between the part of the national income set aside to help raise the level of the society's economy, and the part to be set aside for consumption, which will be divided scientifically and reasonably into two parts, that for public use and that for private use;

based on the national income as well as the requirements for economic growth, a just balance and proportion is established between minimum and maximum incomes not only in the governmental and cooperative sectors but also in the private sector;

accurate taxation laws are enforced decisively and continuously in order to regulate the just distribution of income and as a preventive measure against the unjust accumulation of wealth. The government's budget must not be an instrument for the revival of the distribution of the national wealth to the advantage of the plunderers but a means to redistribute the wealth to the advantage of the toiling people.

## 2. WORK, WAGES, SALARIES

In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, the question of providing jobs and the tools of work for all individuals of the society who have the preparedness and ability to work has been considered as a principle.

It is certain that given the continual growth of the country's population, limited job opportunities in villages, and the continual migration to the cities, the population of the cities and subsequent demands for jobs will increase daily; hence, what has become an extremely difficult problem for the government today will become more difficult day after day. Thus, it is the duty of the people's revolutionary government to implement the following:

- a. providing jobs for these millions of masses;
- b. expanding the expertise of workers with the increase in technical resources and job training;
- c. minimum wages and salaries dependent on urgent needs and appropriate to the working and geographic conditions, and which fluctuate to prevent any undesirable effects on the lives of the workers due to the fluctuating economy, as well as living allowance to workers and employees with large families, depending on family size;
- d. progressive labor laws based on the rightful demands of the workers;

- e. safeguarding retirement salaries for all urban and rural laborers;
- f. reducing the maximum working hours per week, depending on the progress and development of the country's economy, immediate reduction of the work hours of heavy labor (such as working in mines, at furnaces in steel mills, and the like), and of jobs hazardous to health (such as sanitary institutions, chemical plants, etc), and equal annual leave for workers and employees;
- g. official recognition of the collective contracts for the workers of industrial and agricultural units;
- h. enforcing the principle of equal wages and salaries for equal work for female workers;
- i. the creation of an overall network of nurseries and kindergartens to assist working women providing the opportunity for the social training of youngsters in preschool years, and the establishment of maternity wards for several villages in the proximity of each other, in order to aid the villagers.

### 3. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL INSURANCE

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic has provided for free public health and social insurances for all the people.

But the reality in our society is that our national health services are in a very backward state. Only the well-to-do and wealthy social strata are able to use these services. Only with a true revolution can an end be put to this painful backwardness. For this, it is necessary to:

- a. nationalize all areas of the health services sector, and to have the government undertake the responsibility for health services and their just implementation in cities and villages;
- b. take steps to eliminate the great shortcomings in the health services area by expanding medical schools and sanitary colleges, and by creating a network of schools to train medics, admitting local students for training in medical and health-care based on local needs and requirements;
- c. move towards the elimination of this painful backwardness by creating throughout the country and for all the people a large network of dispensaries, hospitals, maternity wards, and recuperation facilities;
- d. create a complete network of mobile laboratories and dispensaries for places with small, scattered populations;
- e. provide special establishments for the handicapped, the aged, and patients who are incurably ill;
- f. eliminate the shortcomings concerning social insurances, with its very limited provisions made in the laws of the country that by no means respond to the vital needs of the toilers of our country. This can be done by devising and implementing a progressive and full-scale social insurances law to



benefit the urban and rural toilers, laws that respond to all the treatment and health services requirements, in unemployment, in illness, infirmity, old age and inability to work.

#### 4. THE SOLUTION TO THE HOUSING PROBLEM

One of the greatest difficulties of the tens of millions of the deprived masses of our society is the problem of housing, which is at the same time one of the uncontrolled areas plundered by "build and sell" and rent-sharking capitalists. During the 50-year rule of the previous regime land sharks, headed by the Pahlavi family, stole billions and billions of rials of the national wealth, the national income, and the fruits of the labor of toilers by artificially raising the price of land in the cities, either transferring the money abroad or reinvesting it internally to replunder the country. During that period of the plundering regime, all building activities were devoted to the creation of palaces, large and small, for the plunderers and their operators, and in creating urban establishments for the urban rich, the wealthy, well-to-do strata of the society. But no changes were made in the miserable housing conditions of millions and millions of urban and rural toilers. There are still millions of people living in ghettos and ghetto-like places resembling Zurabad, Hasirabad, and Halabiabad, or in damp clay houses in villages.

Most unfortunately, the fact must be mentioned that since the victory of the revolution even considering the existing resources, no effective action has been taken to solve the problem of housing through the just distribution of existing residential buildings. In Tehran alone, there are more than 100 thousand spacious, empty, unused residential units belonging to large leech-like "speculating" owners while thousands of toiling families are looking for houses and millions of the socially deprived live miserably in holes they call houses and rooms.

The solution to the housing problem is one of the most important duties of the people's government. It must be viewed as one of the most important economic concerns of the people's lives and be concentrated on as a major determining issue in the governmental and cooperative sectors. Only through the preparation and implementation of a comprehensive, long-term program can we overcome this social problem, and only through the overall development of the activities of the governmental and cooperative sectors in low-priced housing for toilers can we control the private sector, which is active in building houses, and use its resources within the framework of a general planning.

Assistance to builders of private homes as well can only yield positive results if it is within the framework of such a general planning, which would make reasonable use of building materials, manpower, and city planning requirements.

#### 5. EDUCATION

One of the most painful and enraging legacies of the dependent, colonialized regime of the Pahlavi family is the backwardness in public education. Still more than 60 percent of our people are illiterate. Of village women, who make up more than 30 percent of our population, more than 95 percent are illiterate.

Vocational, high-school, and higher education, too, are similarly backward when compared to the ever-increasing needs of Iranian society. It would be sufficient only to compare the number of students enrolled in medical schools in 1358 [1979-80] with the number required to meet the needs of our society.

In order to eliminate this shortcoming, a great struggle should be started. The efforts of the government of the Islamic Republic in building schools in the villages, closing down "privileged" schools, and teaching the illiterate are commendable, but these drops cannot quench the educational thirst of our society. These objectives can only be actually achieved when:

- a. the completion and expansion of the educational network throughout the country--with priority given to the backward regions--are considered among the most important and urgent duties of the revolutionary government;
- b. eight years of compulsory education is provided for all children of cities and villages alike;
- c. in non-Persian regions, native languages are taught in keeping with existing possibilities;
- d. a large network for vocational training is created throughout the country to afford all the young people the opportunity for vocational training;
- e. the network of high schools is expanded to fulfill the needs of the country;
- f. the institutions of higher education are expanded both qualitatively and quantitatively, especially in technical, scientific, and medical fields, devising and implementing a program for self-sufficiency in these fields at the earliest opportunity;
- g. the creation of an academy of sciences of Iran, the establishment of a large network of scientific and technical research centers, and taking total advantage of the findings of science and technology accomplished throughout the world.

## 6. SOCIAL CULTURE

Cultural gains are among the most valuable fruits of the historical struggles of the masses, peoples and nations in the course of their movement towards progress and human civilization.

The people of our homeland are proud to have been, in the course of their long history, in the forefront of the peoples who have created the world's culture and enjoy a rich treasure of national culture.

The great duty of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the society is to hold dear this rich popular and national culture of the people in all its colorful, beautiful, fabulous and valuable dimensions, and to help its advancement more than ever before, and with all their energy.

One of the most painful consequences of the criminal domination of the regime of dependent monarchy in the past century has been the free access given to the domination of colonialist culture in our country, and the efforts of the treacherous ruling classes to abandon our national culture into oblivion. For this reason, the cultural revolution--a decisive fight against illiteracy and semi-literacy, purging the society and the cultural atmosphere of the country of various colonialistic and imperialistic cultural weeds--is one of the most important duties of the glorious revolution of our fatherland. We must ensure that the fight of decolonization of the cultural atmosphere not be accompanied by various maladies of deculturalization on a large scale, and the domination of regressive ideologies. This danger actually and undoubtedly exists, and we are presently witnessing its unpleasant consequences in our society.

It is true that the national culture of the peoples of our country has historical ties with the cultures of many of Iran's neighbors, but this does not mean that we should negate the distinct historical personalities and identities of the national cultures of the peoples living in Iran in all areas including literature, music, theater, painting, etc., and try to bury them in the bed of the general culture of other peoples. The motto of all true revolutionary forces must be: let us dry up the roots of colonialistic, imperialistic culture in the cultural atmosphere of our country, and prepare the ground for the unprecedented development and growth of our national culture, that is, the cultural treasure of all the brother peoples of our country, i.e. the Persians, the Azarbayjan is, the Kurds, Baluchis, Arabs, and Turkomans.

The TPI considers any attempt to imprison the national culture as a sign of cultural backwardness, and believes that such backwardness can only give rise to the growth of regressive inclinations, and will have painful consequences for the social progress of our homeland.

## 7. THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The overall advancement of the social life of our homeland in all areas is impossible without taking advantage of the findings of science and technology. The era of paying backbreaking prices for these findings as imported goods must be brought to an end. This is only possible when progress in these areas becomes one of the most important points of the program of social development, and all the enslaving chains of regression and fogyism are torn from the limbs of the overall growth of science and technology.

The TPI believes that the academy of sciences--which includes natural, social, medical, and agricultural sciences and the humanities, etc--as well as scientific and technical research centers in all important technical fields should be established, and sufficient resources for their expansion be provided.

## 8. SPORTS

In civilized, developed societies of today sports have become not only one of the most important means of public health but also one of the most important means of nurturing humanitarianism as well as entertainment and relaxation after hard work. Sports are vital for the physical well-being and moral soundness of the youths.

The TPI believes that sports should become a general pasttime of the young and the old, and that providing the means and the opportunity for this past-time should be a duty of high priority for all executive organizations and social institutions from village councils to the central government of the Islamic Republic. Sports must be freed from their present narrow framework and should be made available to the general public in schools, factories, government institutions, townships, and villages.

#### 9. TOTAL TRAINING OF THE YOUTH

In order that the children and the young people of our country become prepared to carry out their historical duties in the future, attention must be paid to providing opportunities for their overall development. The experiences of developed countries have shown that in addition to organized education in schools, the creation of a large network of sports, research, artistic, scientific, and technical establishments and organizations contribute greatly to the free, voluntary activities of the youth.

The TPI believes that the establishment of youth clubs which would provide the young people with all the necessary facilities is one of the urgent duties of the government and all popular social institutions.

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The TPI thus presents its program, which expresses the national and democratic wishes of the masses of tens of millions of the deprived and toiling people of the cities and villages of our society at the present historical stage. The struggle to achieve the goals of this program is the duty of every patriotic Iranian who supports all-round social progress.

The TPI calls on all its members, the supporters of the party, all the progressive strata and classes of the society, especially the workers and their allies--farmers, craftsmen, hard-working intellectuals, and all the Iranian people--to exert efforts to implement this program which is the only way to secure the freedom and prosperity of the Iranian people, and a guide for proceeding towards the overall development of our country.

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TUDEH PARTY 17TH PLENUM CONSIDERED 'HISTORIC EVENT'

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 18 Apr 81 pp 3, 6

[Text] The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran, which was held this month in Tehran and of which ratified documents as well as the announcement were published in NAMEH-YE MARDOM, is a historical event for our Party. We have not used the term "historical" as an adjective for this event incidentally or rhetorically. In fact, the work of the 17th Plenum, its role in the life of our Party, and the documents prepared will undoubtedly be recorded in the history of the Tudeh Party of Iran, the modern party of the working class, as the manifestation of a distinct stage in the evolution of the Party, the beginning of a new stage, and a guideline on the difficult winding and glorious road that our Party has left behind.

Our ancient country is presently going through a stormy, era-forming stage. During this most sensitive, vital period, our Party has been able to, despite problems and unfavorable conditions, to play its proud role in defending the revolution and strengthening the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in the hard struggle to deepen the revolution and to solve the vital problems of its destiny, which moves along an anti-imperialistic, popular anti-exploitation, democratic, goal. The 17th Plenum was a significant manifestation of the place, role, and mission of the Tudeh Party of Iran in the process of the great revolution of Iran.

The report of the Central Committee's Politburo concerning the activities of the Party since the 16th Plenum (Esfand 57 [Feb-Mar 79])--immediately after the revolution until today--and the program of the Tudeh Party of Iran which contains the essence of our views and proposals for the protection and preservation of the revolution as well as its overall deepening and expansion are examples of scientific and realistic analysis, political depth and foresight, dignity and farsightedness in action, revolutionary zeal and social courage, all of which have characterized our Party during this period of time.

ANALYSIS OF PAST EVENTS

The 17th Plenum was able to respond to our vital needs and concrete demands during this destiny-making period in the history of the revolution and our country. It was able to carry out meritoriously the great duties which were assigned to the leadership

of the Party and were to be discussed and decided upon in a gathering of the principal and consultant members of the Central Committee with a number of responsible and cadre-members of the Party present, i.e., the plenary session.

The overall analysis of the situation in the country and the process of the Iranian revolution, with all its complications and numerous peculiarities, and an investigation of the Party's activities in various fields, an important undertaking, was concluded based on the Politburo's report. This analysis became the cornerstone of our future activities. The Tudeh Party of Iran's forty years of experience and struggle in defending the independence, freedom and progress of Iran and the interests of the toilers of our country, and the unfaltering loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism was the strong foundation upon which our Party was able to devise and carry out the correct class policy of stabilization, strengthening, and expansion of the anti-imperialistic and popular revolution, and of the stabilization and strengthening of the organizations of the Tudeh Party of Iran, as well as improving its activities in the course of the ebbs and flows of the last two years, in the heart of the great complications of the Iranian revolution, and faced with all those peculiarities which would negate any kind of simplistic, mechanical copying. It was also as a logical consequence of this policy that the 17th Plenum was able to successfully complete its work of adding up, evaluating, and analyzing the many experiences of this two-year period.

The comrades who were present at the 17th Plenum, the original and consultant members of the Central Committee, as well as the responsible comrades and the cadres, were inspired by the lives, struggle, and the courage of those comrades alongside and with whom they had started on this difficult, heroic path. The comrades at the plenum emphatically agreed that the memory of those comrades shed a light of confidence, hope, courage, and intelligence over the work of the plenum. It was not merely a ceremonial act when the 17th Plenum began its work with a moment of silence as a sign of deep respect for those comrades who were not among us anymore, but whose memories and the fruits of whose efforts and devotion remain forever--those who passed away, those who were martyred, those who were killed in the battlefield of imposed war their exemplary lives, battles, and the message that they will forever give to the Tudeh members--as they will make us more decisive in continuing along the path to the stabilization, strengthening and deepening of the revolution, will help us think more clearly, and will fill our hearts with more enthusiasm.

#### THE FUTURE PROGRAM AND LINE

Furthermore, the 17th Plenum is also of historical importance because it opened the way for the future activities of the Party. We are at the threshold of a qualitative change to deepen the revolution, and we must bring our policy and our activities to a level appropriate to this stage. Our previous party program which was ratified at the 15th Plenum in 1354 [1975-76] centered around the axis of a struggle to overthrow the dependent monarchy and the creation of a republic based upon the foundations of defending the interests of the toiling masses and upon independence and freedom. At this moment, when the Iranian peoples under the leadership of Imam Khomeyni have created a proud historical epic through a glorious revolution in a persistent bloody battle, that program can no longer respond to this new stage in the evolution of the revolution. Life itself has presented us with the necessity of devising a new program. The 17th Plenum ratified the Party's program for the future social forces

whose goal is the overall stabilization, strengthening and expansion of the anti-imperialistic and popular revolution. This program is now the basis for the action of all the party comrades and all the friends and supporters of the Party, and is presented to all the true revolutionaries and all interested in the destiny of our revolutionary country for their judgments. This document clarifies the future direction of the Party and is based on the experiences of the past as well as an accurate clear analysis of the present situation.

Our views and proposals for the strengthening and expansion of the gains of the revolution, and for making the revolutionary process irreversible, that is, the way to confirm the gains of our great revolution as well as its decisive and final victory, are expressed in this document. Also, the document contains a clear, concise, accurate summary of what, in our opinion, must be done in various political, economic, social and cultural fields in the future. This, in fact, shows the way for the future growth of our country towards the expansion and deepening of the revolution.

The 17th Plenum, in accordance with its new duties, has decided that [the number of] the principal and consultant members of the Central Committee should be completed. Also, the members of the Politburo, the Board of Secretaries, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee were elected. The implementation of the resolutions of the 17th Plenum is now the responsibility of this leadership, which must display its competence at this sensitive, vital stage of the evolution of the revolution and the Party.

All of these considerations concerning the future activities and guidelines for those activities,--in reality the sign of a new beginning--show another aspect of the historical significance of the 17th Plenum.

#### WORLDWIDE CREDIBILITY

The credibility and prestige that the Tudeh Party of Iran enjoys in the great fraternal family of parties is not without reason and it has not been achieved easily. The 17th Plenum, as a manifestation of the new stage in the life of our Party, once again reaffirms this highly respected and valuable position among the communist and workers' parties of the world. The work and the documents of the 17th Plenum, as well as its encounter with its mission of the Party towards the Iranian masses and the destiny of the revolution, strengthen our ideological ties and interdependence with all the toilers of the world, all anti-imperialistic forces, all progressive groups, and all national liberation movements. Our Party is loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, which today have become the guiding force of a number of countries, are playing a decisive or important role in the national liberation movements of numerous countries, and are the main trend of workers' movements in many countries. In this connection also the 17th Plenum announced its unshakable attitude towards its proper historical position.

It is by no means incidental that all decisions of the 17th Plenum were taken unanimously. The general resolutions of the 17th Plenum, the messages and the report of the Politburo were ratified unanimously. The number of principal and consultant members was completed by unanimous vote. The First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee was elected unanimously. In the 17th Plenum fruitful discussions took place and various views on the completion and amendment of the documents were either

expressed orally or presented in writing. Each time, at the conclusion of the discussions, the votes and decisions were unanimous. This in itself reflects the political, organizational and ideological unity which distinctly characterizes the Party at the present stage, both in the leadership and within the Party in general.

The work of the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee has showed everyone that unanimity of views in the Party of the working class is neither, by any means, instructed or mechanical, nor is it the result of blind discipline or obeying orders, as imperialist propaganda claims. It is the outcome and the reflection of the nature of the Party as the conscious, pioneering force of the working class. Backed by united ideological and one and only organizational principles, following a vital, sound policy, and with persistent and truthful efforts, unanimity is achieved quite naturally.

Such unanimity of opinions and votes is in itself another great success which will be registered in the reportcard of the 17th Plenum. Our Party has gone through difficult and complicated periods as regards this issue. Now, in contrast to the past, we are able to understand the difficult, long, complicated but fruitful road to maturity and observance of principles that our Party and its leadership have traveled and, we are able to consciously comprehend (and make this comprehension the basis of our policies and activities in the future) that such unanimity of views and atmosphere of sincere comradeship and friendly cooperation can only be attained in a healthy and natural way as a result of the political, organizational and ideological unity of the Party.

This concept is of critical and decisive importance in the life of every working class party. Precisely for this reason, one must pay maximum attention to the 17th Plenum in order to understand its importance and historical role in the life of the Tudeh Party of Iran, the modern party of the working class of our homeland.

Both the general resolutions of the 17th Plenum and the communique of the secretariat of the Central Committee for the formation of the plenum rightly speak of "political, organizational and ideological unity" in the leadership and throughout the Party. This essential unity, which is unprecedented in the 40-year history of the Party, reveals another aspect of the historical significance of the 17th Plenum.

#### POLITICAL UNITY

We might add that the Tudeh Party of Iran has matured to the point of having a single, concrete, political interpretation and a single point of view. Sometimes, even our friends are surprised that not only the members but also the sympathizers and friends of the Party are acquainted and agree with the writings and political interpretations and orientation of the Party. They all state the same thing, and they are astonishingly united in their thoughts, views and analyses. This unity is not easily achieved within a party. It is the result of a long process of maturity, passing through the stages of childhood and immaturity, and overcoming haste and superficiality. The sources of the present political unity in our Party are the foundations of scientific socialism, our rich experience of 40 years, our ability to make use of these experiences, and the creative application of this ideology. This significant political unity which, friends and enemies agree, is unmatched by any other political party or organization, has made the Tudeh Party of Iran able--as a united body and as a conscious, organized pioneering force of the working class and all toilers--to



participate in the scenes of intricate battles and difficult conditions of our revolution and, with the power of this political unity, to play a significant qualitative role in the evolutionary process of the revolution.

The members of our party have come from different social classes and levels; they belong to different nationalities of our country; they have been reared in families with different religious beliefs and traditions; they have different occupations and different levels of education; they live in different provinces, and they have various partisan background. But all of them, men and women, young and old, city-dwellers and villagers, despite the variety and differences resulting from the above factors, have a single political stance, express one party line, one interpretation, one conclusion, one program, and one political view. This unity in majority, this oneness in variety is the source of the strict, conscious discipline and the breeding-ground for that amazing, pride-creating unity of action which is one of the distinguishing features of the Tudeh Party of Iran. The members of our Party function effectively with a concrete goal in the great army of the Iranian revolution, with revolutionary zeal and dignity, with wisdom and exemplary generosity, with clear logic and perseverance in the face of difficulties, with complete attention to revolutionary moral and spiritual values and standards in their lives and behavior, every day in the heat of quickly changing events, with a united political stance. This great gain must be preserved as dearly as the pupils of our eyes. This unprecedented political unity is the fruit of active and conscientious participation of the party members in the political life of the country and the internal life of the Party. It is the fruit of a strong and ever-increasing tie of the Tudeh members with the masses. It is the result of not being drowned in the whirlpool of minor and misdirected issues. It is the result of being kneaded with the needs of the toilers of cities and villages. It is the fruit of avoiding any kind of group prejudices, self-centeredness, and spinning [a web] around themselves. It is the result of rejecting any separation from the masses and their basic national and class interests, and any abstractionism and separation from the actual evolutionary process of the revolution.

The leadership of the Party devises the united policy of the Party on the basis of scientific teachings and past experience by relying on the daily activities and struggles of its members in all areas, and by generalizing the obtained results thereby. In fact, this powerful, sound body of the Party is based on the complete and mutual ties between all its organs and members who create, form, and devise the policies of the Party through experience and action, directed by practical guidance, i.e. scientific socialism. And efforts should be made to have the leadership devise it more conscientiously and more actively than ever before. Political unity is based on strong foundations and undoubtedly it will become stronger, given the theoretical and revolutionary party-line and its ratification by the 17th Plenum.

The present political unity is a great achievement for the Tudeh Party of Iran and a great success for the Party not only in comparison with other political organizations, but also in the history of the party of the Iranian working class. Its existence is a historical success and its preservation and strengthening is the great duty of all the Tudeh members as well as all the true followers of scientific socialism, who are interested in the stability, solidarity and evolution of the party of the Iranian working class.

## ORGANIZATIONAL UNITY

The Tudeh Party of Iran, in the wake of the victory of the February revolution, has ended a very difficult period of a quarter of a century in its life, a period which was full of hardships for us from an organizational standpoint. The self-interested, dependent regime of the cursed shah had inflicted devastating blows on the organizational body of the Tudeh Party of Iran. The major objective of the regime of violence, oppression and governmental terrorism--first, the military government and then the royal SAVAK--was the destruction of our Party's organizations. The 25 years between the coup and the revolution were years of the slaughter of a number of the most distinguished leaders, cadres, and members of the Tudeh Party of Iran, the years of beastly tortures aimed at the physical annihilation of the Tudeh members, and long years of imprisonment, confinement and exile. The United States had commissioned its puppet regime not only to declare the Party of the Iranian working class illegal, but to abolish and annihilate it completely. The enemy used every infernal means of murder, strangulation, perversion, disappointment and submission, but did not succeed, and it was certain that it would not. Our Party, like the legendary phoenix, once again pushed aside the 25-year-old ashes and ignited the embers that had never died and could not die.

The two years between the 16th and 17th plenums were years of organizational revival and, in some cases, revitalization of the organizational existence of the Party. Our overcoming organizational disunity, decentralization, and disharmony--in the form of separate groups and local and regional organizations, which were characteristic of the past--and the creation of a smooth-operating, harmonized party organization which would respond to our needs after the revolution, in a period of overt, all-out activity under contradictory and difficult conditions prevailing at present, has been a great success achieved within these two years.

The 17th Plenum became the bright manifestation of this qualitative creation and evolution. Our Party is now totally united and harmonious on all organizational levels. Everyone talks about our organizational formation and unity, which is a powerful weapon that the Tudeh members have gained. The great events of the past two years, our basic, correct, revolutionary policies, and our strong ideological foundation were the reasons for the Tudeh Party of Iran to be proud of its organizational unity at the convention of the 17th Plenum of its Central Committee. The Tudeh members who had spent half their glorious lives in the prisons of the cursed shah and were freed after the revolution; the Tudeh members who joined the Party in prisons; the Tudeh members who were bravely active in secret, underground organizations independently; the aged Tudeh members who, despite all the difficulties and obstacles, had remained loyal to the Party to the last cell of their bodies; the Tudeh members who had joined the Party in the course of the bloody combat and difficult battles of the revolution; the Tudeh members who earlier formed the group which branched out from the Feda'i-yl Khalq guerrilla organization and who had chosen the correct line years before the victory of the revolution; the young Tudeh members who became experienced during the past two years in defending the revolution and in confronting false or deviant views; the Tudeh members in foreign countries who realized that the Tudeh Party of Iran was right, who matured in the course of serious struggles, especially against Maoism, and as a result of struggling against the previous regime were forced to live in exile; and the Tudeh members who returned from political asylum--all of them now form the Tudeh's united column.

The 17th Plenum when evaluating the organizational states of the Party, the latter was no longer a simple collection of all those Tudeh members who had joined the organization through different ways and at different times. The Party had already attained a higher qualitative organizational level, and had secured its organizational unity. This is a valuable gain. This great union and astonishing welding together is the fruit of our scientific teachings, political unity, our correct and realistic analysis, and a sign of the correctness of our path. Different streams which come from various life-giving springs have now formed a single life-creating river and have become a force of change. The organizational unity of our Party has become an important factor in the future evolution of our Party's life, which in turn helps the political and ideological unity of the Party. In the future, too, we must try with all our energy to preserve and safeguard the Party's organizational unity and protect it as though it were our very precious eyesight.

#### IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

The ideological base and doctrinal foundation of the Tudeh Party of Iran is the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism. For many years American imperialism, this cruel enemy of our fatherland and our people, and the Pahlavi court, its various "ideologues," and all those dependent on it, sharply attacked not only our organization but the ideological foundation of our Party. From left to right, through distortion and falsification, they tried to weaken and destroy us also by that means. They took the utmost advantage of Maoism and all its varieties--which had grown like mushroom because of the atmosphere of terror and oppression, and which was both covertly and overtly supported by the previous regime, as well as the imperialistic and Chinese propaganda apparatus and espionage organizations--and penetrated the minds as weeds in a field. The regime of the cursed shah wished to sterilize, stupefy, prostitute, or deviate the minds. And in order to prevent the potential and active revolutionary strugglers--especially the youth--from following the right road of class and popular battle, it encouraged them to take the mistaken, pseudo-leftist, pseudo-revolutionary path. This situation required an intense and overall ideological battle, and the confrontation with the large spectrum of deviant views demanded proper ideological strength and unity. Furthermore, some of the Islamic thinkers, too, unfortunately, sought their antagonist only in Marxism. Although, undoubtedly, exchanges of views, doctrinal and ideological debates are beneficial, fruitful, necessary, and unavoidable, singling out Marxism for attack and ignoring the principal enemy which in this case, as well, is imperialistic ideology, created a peculiar situation. Some of the Islamic scholars only chose to confront the teachings of scientific socialism. And in this, too, unfortunately, they used what the imperialistic propagandists and bourgeois daydreamers had said as grounds for their judgments and yardstick for evaluation of Marxism. Thus, they rejected Marxism as if true Islam, under the banner of which the Iranian revolution was launched, and which was the legacy of Mohammad, 'Ali, and Abuzar, and a leader such as Imam Khomeyni, has had no enemies, such as the Omayyed-style, tyrannical, pro-American Islam, and a variety of capitalist, dominating, hypocritical, imperialistic ideologies.

The reason for the sincere support of the true followers of scientific socialism for the anti-imperialistic people's line of Imam Khomeyni, and the efforts to find a common language with the struggling Moslems following the line of the imam, who are the disciples of the anti-imperialistic, popular, anti-subjugational path, was to defend the reality of Marxism and the truth of its teachings and demonstrate its

revolutionary and evolutionary essence. And battling all sorts of anti-Marxist deviations which were carried out in the name of Marxism was a vitally important duty during the course of which the Tudeh Party of Iran strengthened and tempered its ideological unity. Today we can use what we have acquired in the years immediately before and after the revolution as a sure basis for our future ideological progress.

Under our revolutionary complicated, changing conditions, the Tudeh Party of Iran, the present generation of Tudeh members, showed that they are the worthy inheritors of Heydars, Arzanis, and Ruzbehs, and they are able to defend the originality and purity of their scientific teachings. They are able not only to use these teachings creatively under the particular conditions of Iran, but by generalizing the valuable experiences which they have gained in their distinguished lives and in the process of the peculiarities and the complications of the revolution, they are able to enrich those teachings as much as possible and help to elaborate some of its concepts.

The ideological unity of our Party at the time when the 17th Plenum was held is so strong that not only in comparison with other political organizations but even in the history of our own Party it can be considered an important achievement. And it is the duty of all Tudeh members to protect it as they would do for their precious eyesight, because without it the political unity and the organizational unity of our Party would be impossible. And it is also true that without them, this unity will not take root.

Political unity, organizational unity, and ideological unity are not three separate, independent concepts. They are so interrelated that they form one single concept. Hence, we are correct to speak of the political, organizational and ideological unity of the Party. This is another aspect of the historical importance of the 17th Plenum which sets for the Party the very important duty of preserving and strengthening it.

The outcome of the work of the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran is now before us in the forms of Resolutions, Messages, Party Program, the Report of the Politburo, and other documents.

Great duties and heavy responsibilities are also before us.

We must perform our duty well in this new and sensitive stage of the history of Iran, the revolution, and the Party.

Series of struggles are before us.

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TUDEH PARTY 17TH PLENUM MESSAGE TO PARTY MEMBERS

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 13 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] Dear Comrades and friends!

The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran which has been held during our country's sensitive historic circumstances--under conditions of the expanding and deepening of the Revolution on one side, and the unprecedented intensity of the intrigues of its foreign and domestic enemies led by the world-devouring US imperialism on the other--considers it duty to send its warmest greetings to all comrades, supporters and friends of the Party in various parts of our ancient and extensive country which has been the birthplace and nurturing ground for diverse peoples and the scene of their epic battles. During the Revolution and in the period which followed, you were able to play a worthy and effective role--a role which even the sworn enemies of the Party cannot dispute--by marching in the first ranks of the heroic people of Iran and by supporting the methodical policy of the Party and the anti-imperialistic and popular line of Imam Khomeyni [adopted] in the Revolution. As with the blood of other martyrs, the soil of our country has been painted with the blood of Tudeh martyrs shed in the battlegrounds of the Revolution and on the battlefields of the righteous war against the aggressive regime of Saddam; and the Tudeh members have proved and are proving over and over the highest level of political awareness and ability for self-sacrifice. It is not without reason that members, supporters and friends of the Party--men and women, young and old, urban, rural dwellers and tribesmen--on the one hand, are accorded the ever-increasing affection and trust of the real friends of the Revolution, while, on the other hand, bring upon themselves the beastly wrath of the enemies of the Revolution.

Endurance, self-possession, clear logic, wisdom as well as realistic and scientific comprehension, patience in adversity, avoidance of the use of illogical and unethical methods, perseverance in battle to the point of ignoring danger to one's life, more than ever are becoming the basic characteristics of the Tudeh members who wish to become super human beings, who give priority to the highest spiritual human qualities over calculated personal egoisms.

Dear Comrades and friends! As you see in the various documents of the Plenum, our Revolution, our people, our homeland and our Party are entering a sensitive phase in which all perseverent and genuine forces of the Revolution supporting the Imam's stand must succeed in strengthening and deepening the revolution by relying on the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and by aborting variously-colored plots

of imperialism, regional reaction and Iranian anti-revolutionary forces within and outside Iran. At this stage the Party calls on all its members, supporters and friends to be vigilant and ready for struggle and perseverance in continuing to proceed forward.

The Plenum considers it its duty to sincerely thank all dear comrades, supporters and friends of the Party who have not spared the least effort in their various activities to strengthen the Party and the common cause of the Revolution. The elevation and liberation of any people are linked to the existence of such women and men, girls and boys who consider the concerns of society and the public to be above personal affairs.

The Plenum honors the memory of the Party's martyrs and sends its warm greetings to the survivors of these heroes of the movement of workers and toilers of Iran.

We hope all followers of scientific socialism in our country can overcome their dissensions and disputes so that increased steadfastness and pride of the new-level Party of the working class can be achieved in the best manner and the shortest time.

We hope followers of the scientific socialism, side by side with the followers of the perceptibility of revolutionary Islam as well as all other forces who are concerned about the Revolution, the independence, freedom and progress of Iran, will succeed in creating a united peoples' front against the enemies of independence, freedom, progress and social justice.

The continuous plots of imperialism and its domestic agents against the forces of Revolution are warning signals. We do not have the right to let down our revolutionary vigilance for a moment. Yet despite all these complications we look to the future with hope because there are favorable conditions in Iran and the world for the achievement of the noble aims of the revolutionary and heroic people of Iran; and with the victorious and rapid progress of the collective front against world imperialism, these conditions become more favorable each day.

Dear Comrades and friends! Once again accept our warm and sincere greetings.

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CSO: 4906/235

TUDEH PARTY 17TH PLENUM MESSAGE TO ALL ORGANIZATIONS

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 13 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] Dear friends! The splendid Bahman [February] Revolution, under the farsighted and persistent leadership of Imam Khomeyni, and with the self-sacrificing and total participation of tens of millions of the masses of our country was victorious against the sinister Pahlavi regime and its imperialist masters, headed by the United States, the great Satan, and is now in its third year [of existence] after neutralizing various plots by imperialism, the anti-revolution and forces of compromise. But the Revolution is still on the road and has yet to reach its definite and final stability and strength. With the United States in the forefront, world imperialism, along with all reactionary forces of the region, all domestic and foreign anti-revolutionary forces--by using the liberal capitalist forces of compromise, and by taking advantage of the self-serving or erroneous methods of some individuals and groups within the revolutionary camp--is trying to destroy the Iranian Revolution either through transformations from within or by overthrow, thus repeating a much more sinister tragedy in Iran than that of 28 Mordad [Mosaddeq's overthrow] and to bring to nought the results of the great movement to which the people have given so much.

During the past regime, imperialism plundered the huge oil resources of Iran and imposed billions [of dollars] of military equipment in return for a large share of our oil revenues, it took advantage of the 'open door' policy to fill our country's huge market with its consumer goods, and at the same time it made the despotic shah's monarchic regime its gendarme of the region against the people of Iran and progressive movements and systems and a close collaborator of Zionism. Now it is highly angered over Iran's Revolution and, as is its nature and has demonstrated many a time in history, it will not turn away from any conspiracy, deceit and criminal act to regain its lost positions in our country.

The defeat of past plots of various hues never made U.S. imperialism understand that it must face the Iranian people and the Iranian Revolution on a footing of equal rights. On the contrary, US imperialism, and its other Western allies as well as Zionism, superiority-seeking China and reactionary governments of the region, have increased their efforts tenfold to gradually weaken and isolate the Revolution and its leadership through economic encirclement, creation of dissension, suspicion and discord among revolutionary forces and through the use of terror, unrest, rumor-mongering, slander and all other weapons they have in their devilish armory, aimed at paving the way for their sinister aims.

Only and only unity of action by all revolutionary forces, organizations and revolutionary institutions under the wise, experienced and resistant leadership of Imam Khomeyni can bring to the desired conclusion the great work which was started: that is, to establish an independent, uncommitted, free Iran, a country endowed with justice in this ancient land, and to convert our country to a base of peace and stability in the Middle East and in the world as well. That which is truly a source of worry to all friends of the Revolution in our country, is the success of the visible and invisible agents of imperialism in creating dissension and discord in the ranks of the revolutionary forces, organizations and institutions in setting them against each other--occurrences which unfortunately can be seen in various parts of the country. The reactionary forces of our society, such as big landowners and capitalists, encouraged and supported by imperialism and Zionism, and by using the forces of Iran's liberal bourgeoisie, are trying their utmost to make a reality of the wishes which Reagan, the US president, has expressed about our country.

With a feeling of deep responsibility, the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran expresses deep concern over this situation and invites all genuine revolutionary forces, institutions and organizations, governmental or non-governmental, whatever their beliefs and viewpoints, to rally around the experienced leadership of Imam Khomeyni, and to refrain strictly from wasting their strength and weakening each other by various means.

Whether during the period of the overthrow of the despotic monarchy, or in the fight against imperialism and anti-revolution, or in the present war against the aggressor Saddam, the Iranian Revolution has suffered tens of thousands in killed, wounded and disabled, and hundreds of thousands in refugees. This unprecedented revolution of our history has paid a high price for liberating our people; and weakening or harming it is a big sin. This Revolution was a revolution of the toiling masses of Iran, and ghetto-dwellers gave their lives for it. Its social results must be beneficial to millions of masses of workers and peasants.

We believe in democratic freedoms and the need to insure the legal means of existence and activity for all genuine popular and revolutionary forces, organizations and institutions (as specified in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic) but at the same time we believe that the question of defending the Revolution and securing its victory, as well as insuring the legitimate rights of urban and rural toilers is a matter of common interest for the people, with no individual having the right, because of harmful aims and miscalculations or narrow-minded monopolistic views, to damage this common and sacred cause. Such attitudes which in reality facilitate the work of the criminal enemy of the Revolution must be strictly avoided before it is too late.

The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh party of Iran hopes that genuine revolutionary forces, institutions and organizations can overcome difficulties by mobilizing all their strength, and benefiting from support of the anti-imperialist and popular policy of Imam Khomeyni within the framework of respect for the Constitution of the Islamic Republic--thereby taking the Revolution to the stage of strength and depth so that the hands of big landowners can be removed from lands which rightfully belong to the toiling Iranian farmers, putting an end to feudalism in Iran once and for all. And by removing from the nation's overall economy the plundering hands of leech-type big capitalists and their agents, to open the way for an all-out blooming of the economy in meeting the rightful needs of tens of millions of the



deprived urban and rural masses, in practice to nationalize foreign trade (in accordance with the Constitution of the Islamic Republic), so that the toiling people of the cities and villages can be freed from strangling inflation and the economic difficulties caused by this boundless plunder. Foreign policy should be non-committed, realistic and wise, distinguishing friends and enemies of our Revolution from each other, while domestic policy should respect freedoms specified in the Constitution without leanings toward any monopolistic and sectarian attitudes, thus to ensure the national rights of the peoples living on Iranian soil.

Our Revolution which relied on the unity and widespread movement of the urban and rural toiling masses from the very start, now more than ever needs these two basic and indictative characteristics.

The 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran takes the opportunity to send its warmest greetings to Imam Khomeyni, the leader and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and to all genuine revolutionary forces, organizations and institutions (whether governmental or social) and wishes them success in enhancing the progress of the sacred cause of the people of Iran.

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